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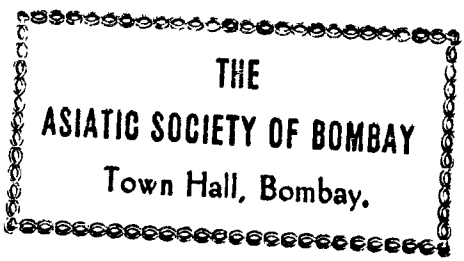

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THE CHILDHOOD OF FICTION

THE CHILDHOOD OF FICTION: A STUDY OF FOLK TALES AND PRIMITIVE THOUGHT

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TO MY CHILDREN

SHEILA

ELSPETH

AND

NIGEL

PREFACE

To many who love folk-tales for themselves, and because they, of all forms of literature, are to the eye of the mind

> " Magic casements, opening on the foam
> Of perilous seas, in faery lands forlorn,"

I shall seem to be no more than

> " One who would peep and botanise
> Upon his mother's grave,"

because I have dared to show that some of the things which, in these old-world stories, form their fascination, have had their origin in sordid fact and reality. Yet all romantic literature is also a criticism of real life; nor does it take away from our enjoyment of Scott's novels or Tennyson's poems to know this. I, too, am a lover of folk-tales; I have read and enjoyed thousands of them; and now that my task is done, I am ready to begin reading and enjoying them again. Age cannot wither, nor custom—even primitive custom—stale their infinite variety. It does not seem to me that, while trying to explain the irrational incidents of folk-tales, and to show how they have arisen, I have destroyed their romantic freshness. For even when all is said, nothing can detract from the marvellous skill with which the story-weaver

has treated those incidents, or attenuate the atmosphere of old romance which still clings round them, after we have understood their origin. For that reason, throughout this work I have never ceased to regard these stories as literature—the literature of early man and of primitive people wherever found. Hence this book, which treats of primitive thought and custom in folk-tales, has been called *The Childhood of Fiction.* And, for its *imprimatur*, I may cite the words of Sir Walter—that "great romantic," that "idle child"—"A work of great interest might be compiled upon the origin of popular fiction, and the transmission of similar tales from age to age, and from country to country."[1]

Sir George Douglas, in his interesting preface to a collection of Scots stories, complains bitterly of the scientific folk-lorist, and pleads for the study of folk-tales from the point of view of the story-teller pure and simple. One must distinguish, however, between the mere enjoyment of literature and the study of it. Study of literature implies research into its origins and the influences which have moulded it. This does not necessarily detract from its enjoyment by the student; nay, there are students whose enjoyment is keener because they know more about the particular piece of literature, than others who read it only to be entertained. *Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas.* So with folk-tales. The most scientific of folk-lorists may yet enjoy his tales, though he has been bold enough to inquire into their origins. And while, because he has put away childish things, the child's delighted wonder is lost to him, still he enjoys, because it must always be a new wonder to him how, out of the stuff of common belief and custom and everyday experience, such a rich and gorgeous fabric should have been

[1] Note 3D to *The Lady of the Lake.*

woven by those who were far down in the scale of civilisation.

> "To a mind that's scientific
> There is nothing that's terrific"

in Sir George's complaints, but there is still a world of wonder in the tales, upon whose origins the scientific folk-lorist (if he must be so called) has attempted to throw some light.

With this apologia I leave my book in the reader's hands, with the hope that he may derive as much pleasure from reading as I have done from writing it.

PORTREE, ISLE OF SKYE,
December 1904.

CONTENTS

CHAP.		PAGE
I.	INTRODUCTORY — THE ANTIQUITY OF FOLK-TALE INCIDENTS	1
II.	SOME FOLK-TALE INCIDENTS	16
III.	THE WATER OF LIFE	52
IV.	THE RENEWAL OF LIFE IN THE DEAD OR DISMEMBERED	80
V.	THE SEPARABLE SOUL	118
VI.	TRANSFORMATION	149
VII.	INANIMATE OBJECTS WITH HUMAN AND MAGICAL QUALITIES	188
VIII.	FRIENDLY ANIMALS: PUSS IN BOOTS	225
IX.	BEAST-MARRIAGES: BEAUTY AND THE BEAST	253
X.	CANNIBALISM: ODYSSEUS AND THE CYCLOPS	279
XI.	TABU IN FOLK-TALES—BLUEBEARD	306
XII.	TABU IN FOLK-TALES — *Continued* — THE LOST HUSBAND OR WIFE	325
XIII.	THE CLEVER YOUNGEST SON	350
XIV.	THE DRAGON SACRIFICE: PERSEUS AND ANDROMEDA	381
XV.	THE SACRIFICE OF A CHILD	410
XVI.	JACK AND THE BEANSTALK	432
XVII.	THE ORIGIN AND TRANSMISSION OF FOLK-TALES	450
	BIBLIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX	485
	INDEX	493

THE CHILDHOOD OF FICTION

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY—THE ANTIQUITY OF FOLK-TALE INCIDENTS

FOLK-TALES are the earliest form of romantic and imaginative literature, the unwritten fiction of early man and of primitive people in all parts of the world. They represent fiction in its childhood; the attempts of primitive men and of savage races to clothe their impressions of the universe, their ideas and beliefs, their customs and manner of living, in a romantic garb, and in the form of a story. Though other causes have led to their origin or have moulded their form once they originated, they owe their birth in great part to that universal human desire to listen to a story. "Tell me a story," cries the child; and in the childhood of the race there was heard the same cry, followed by a generous response from those in whom imagination and the faculty of story-weaving were most active. The telling of folk-tales amounts "almost to a passion" with the West African negro, says Dr Nassau. All know the tales, which are told at night after the day's work by the best and most eloquent reciter, but the audience never wearies of repetition.[1] What is true of the negro, is true of all savages. Breathless audiences gather round the

[1] Nassau, p. 330.

camp fire, or in some public place in the village, to listen to the tales of old time, embodying current beliefs and practices, which are recited by the old men, by priest or sorcerer, or by some recognised story-teller, like the mediæval wandering minstrel. European peasants have had the same passion for folk-tales, and the telling of them occupies the greater part of the long winter evenings among Celts and Basques, Russians and Norwegians, Germans and Roumanians.

How universal the desire for a story has been, is proved by the enormous numbers of folk-tales which have been collected in all parts of the world. The efforts of the brothers Grimm to gather the tales current among the peasantry in Germany, inspired similar efforts in every European country, with the result that vast numbers of tales, Russian, Scandinavian, Celtic, French, Spanish, Italian, Greek, etc., have been brought to light. These are the unwritten literature of the peasants, and it might easily be supposed that they had originated with them. But further research by able collectors has proved that just such stories are told in abundance among savages and barbaric races in every part of the world. Chinese and Japanese, Mongols and Indian aborigines, Malays and Dyaks, Indians of both American continents and Eskimo, Negroes, Kaffirs, and Bushmen, Andamanese, Australians, and Ainos, Maoris and the islanders of the Pacific, have shown themselves possessed of a rich and varied folk-tale literature.[1]

[1] A comparison of the literary and artistic abilities of some of these peoples is interesting. Those who possess the most elaborate and imaginative tales are the Red Indians (*e.g.*, Zunis) and Polynesians, in the case of the latter, however, the stories are religious myths rather than *Märchen*. Neither of these races is very artistic so far as direct copying of nature is concerned; the Polynesians are, however, excellent decorative artists. The Bushmen and Eskimo, true rivals of the Palæolithic artists (of whose powers as story-weavers we know

This fact leads us to suspect that such stories as are told among the European peasantry did not originate with them, but in a far-distant past, when the ancestors of the European races were themselves in a state of savagery. The ideas of later ages have entered into and coloured these primitive stories; comparatively modern social customs and names jostle those of a remote antiquity without any feeling of incongruity; the tales have a firm root in a past paganism, but they are full of later Christian conceptions. Tales which bristle with the marvellous, and introduce us to ogres and witches and enchanted heroes and heroines, to animals and things which talk and act like men, to the weirdest and most irrational customs and ideas, speak also of gunpowder and tobacco, of cannons and muskets, of cities, palaces, hotels, coaches, and other things of later civilisation; or make the most evidently pagan ogres, monsters, or personages of mythical antiquity indulge in church-going and other Christian practices; or refer to the Sultan or Boney in the most matter-of-fact way.[1] But all this is only the veneer of a later age; the material of the stories is old, so old as to be prehistoric.

This conclusion is amply confirmed when we examine the incidents of the stories. Although these, too, are coloured by the thoughts and environment of

nothing) in holding the mirror up to nature, are also good weavers of tales, though none of those are so beautiful as the Polynesian and Red Indian stories. Chinese folk-tales are least romantic of all; in these, as in their art products, they are far surpassed by the Japanese. In Europe the most romantic and magical of all folk-tales are the Celtic; the Celts were once excellent artists. I have discussed the literary style of folk-tales in the concluding chapter.

[1] *Cf.* the remarks of Campbell, *West Highland Tales*, introduction; of Jones, *Magyar Tales*, p. 20; and of Webster, *Basque Tales*, p. 9. Dr Nassau, p. 331, shows how the introduction of cannon and other civilised products into West African tales is due to the cleverness of the story-teller, observant of new things, and introducing them in place of the bow and arrows, etc., of the native tales, to give greater effect.

the men and women who tell them, yet, for the most part, they lead us into a world which is neither modern nor mediæval, western nor eastern. Kings and princesses have the most unroyal duties to perform; their kingdoms are wide, but by walking for a day you find yourself in the territory of another monarch; a maiden's hand is won by the hero who successfully performs some extraordinary tasks; giants and monsters carry girls off, and marry them against their will; to women are ascribed such powers as they certainly did not possess in historical times; cannibal ogres, giants, and fearful monsters abound. Again, they lead us into a world where magic and sorcery are the affairs of daily life. Wizards and witches, but especially witches, are never far off; the possession of this or the other object gives its owner the service of powerful attendant spirits; men and women are cut in pieces or die, and are then restored to life; they practise shape-shifting, make themselves invisible, travel through the air, arm themselves with all sorts of magic powers, or hide their souls in a distant place. Life, too, in folk-tales is subject to strange customs. Bride and bridegroom must not see each other's faces. It is dangerous to go into certain places, or to reveal your name. Maidens are offered in sacrifice to monsters; unions with animals are common; there is a strange preference for the youngest son as his father's heir. These are the incidents of a world which is certainly not that of the European peasant.

If we take up a modern novel we find that its incidents are, with few exceptions, those of our own time, or of a time sufficiently near to be known to us. The writer avails himself of these because their very familiarity, as well as the use he makes of them, will appeal to the interest of his readers. The way of a man with a maid is, of course, the invariable theme of a novel, and is as old as the hills. Into that world-old but ever fresh topic the skilful novelist works his

modern instances and everyday incidents—moving accidents by flood and field, the hunting-field, the giddy dance, diplomacy and stocks, nihilism and detective craft, the latest thing in science or discovery. In a word, he deals with a world with which the presumption is that he and his readers are perfectly intimate. Or if he introduces the incidents of the past, they are borrowed or worked up from the ideas which have survived from that past.

Now let us pass to the folk-tales of modern savages—Aino, Negro, Australian, or what you will. Here, too, we have the world-old passions, but again, mixed with them, incidents unfamiliar to us, but *perfectly familiar to the savages* who tell the stories. Here, too, we have weird and strange customs, much magic and sorcery, talking animals and helpful beasts, but these are in the story because, as the collectors are careful to tell us, they are actual and living practices and beliefs with those savages. Indeed, it is evident that many of their tales are told to illustrate or to bolster up some particular custom. The following are some examples :—

There is a general belief in West Africa that every one has a kind of astral self which may be extracted from the body by sorcerers or witches, who eat it, and thus cause its owner's death. At the same time it is believed that when witch-women meet to practise this semi-cannibal rite, the presence of an uninitiated witness will effectually hinder them. Both these beliefs are illustrated by the story of "A Witch Sweetheart." She refused to let her lover visit her on a certain night, and he, suspecting a rival, hid himself within her house. Presently he saw a company of women, among them his adored one, carrying an astral body such as has been described into the hut. They laid it down, and began to hack at it with their knives, but to no purpose; the knives would not cut, in spite of repeated sharpenings. At last morning

dawned, and with that their power was ended; they were forced to carry back the soul to its owner. The woman finally discovered her lover, and would have killed him, had he not disarmed her.[1]

In a Kafir story a girl leaves the hut in which, like all well-behaved Kafir maids, she should remain concealed for a certain time, with the result that she is bitten by a snake, and has various other adventures. Obviously this is told to show the dangers which lurk in breaking this concealment tabu. Before going to the hut the girl might be told the story, with the warning, "Don't leave the hut; see what happened to so-and-so!"[2] Or, take the Fjort (Negro) story of Nzambi's daughter, sent with her slave to the "paint-house" for seclusion. On the way she asked her slave a great many questions, but before getting an answer she had to give up the articles of her dress and her ornaments till she was naked. The slave put them on, and was received at the paint-house with the ceremony due to her mistress, who was sent to dig in the plantations. There she realised how she had been imposed upon, and sang songs relating to her history. People thought her mad, but at last she sent a message by a caravan to Nzambi's town. He speedily came, stripped and burned the slave, and reinstated his daughter.[3] Obviously this is an incident, actual or possible, arising out of a well-known custom. So Rink tells us of the Eskimo, that when he is in doubt about the customs or superstitions of his ancestors, he tries to find an answer "by looking

[1] Nassau, p. 278. *Cf.* p. 326 for a story illustrating the belief that a witch-woman leaves her body behind her when she goes to attend the midnight orgy, that she must return by cockcrow, and that it is possible to prevent her "soul" re-entering the body. The whole West African witch belief is curiously like that of mediæval Europe.

[2] Theal, *Kafir Folk-Lore;* see also p. 340 *infra.*

[3] Dennett, p. 128. *Cf.* the European stories of the Impostor cycle (p. 57). The Fjort story suggests how they may have originated.

for some samples out of his tales, ancient or modern."[1] The incidents of these tales reflect the customs in question. In general, all savages believe in magic, shape-shifting, tabu, talking beasts and inanimate objects, and in totem-descent from animals; hence, their folk-tales abound in such topics. They are based on the well-known customs of their material existence and their psychic and religious life.

We return now to the folk-tales of the European peasantry, with their incidents of a world which is not that of the peasant. Where and when are we to seek a world in which such incidents were common or credible—in which the story-inventors could take these incidents, like the modern novelist or the savage story-teller, for the purpose of delighting his audience by the use he made of things which were quite credible and common to them? We must seek it in a remote past, when the ancestors of our European races were in a state of barbarism or savagery, in which they did and thought exactly such things, bizarre and irrational though they be, as occur in folk-tales. All races, however civilised, have passed through a stage of savagery in their upward march—a stage in which they believed that beasts and things could talk and act, in which the medicine-man was all-powerful and magic was common, in which society was organised on different lines from those of the present, in which men captured their wives or won them by feats of strength, in which the youngest son did succeed his father, in which women had originated and still practised the elements of civilisation, in which the chief (the king of later story) worked with his own hands, in which all sorts of extraordinary ideas were easily credited—as that the dead might be brought to life again, or the soul hidden away for safety, or a man might mate with a beast, who might or might

[1] Rink, p. 86.

not turn into a woman. The world of our folk-tales existed long ago; it exists still among modern savages.[1]

From that world, then, these incidents were derived, but as it gradually gave place to other conditions, the incidents themselves remained as the theme of folk-tales, partly because of man's innate love of the unusual and the marvellous, partly because, in spite of changed conditions everywhere around, many of the ideas and customs of that earlier world continued to exist as superstitious survivals—fossils we might call them, among the peasantry everywhere. Hence, European folk-tales exhibit traces of two worlds—that of the irrational past, that of the existing present everywhere tending to modify the other; while that other, in turn, has its marvels magnified. This process of magnifying is the natural result of the incapacity of later generations to understand things rooted in conditions of thought and custom long forgotten, which had once made these things quite intelligible. The more inexplainable they were, the more mysterious and marvellous they were made, on the *omne ignotum pro mirifico* principle, until at last we are surrounded by an atmosphere in which anything may happen. Sometimes the earlier incidents are put in a later framework; sometimes, again, existing folk-tales are modified by the later surroundings in the way already described.

Thus in many existing European folk-tales, as in those of India, China, or ancient Egypt, various

[1] Most collections of savage tales show that their incidents reflect everyday belief and custom, irrational to us, but credible to the savage. I may refer to Dr Nassau's collection of what he calls *Tales of Fetich Founded on Fact*, as an instance. Here we find embodied in a tale such current beliefs as that a witch can extract the soul and eat it, or leave her body and go to the secret orgy, etc. See his 16th chapter. I have referred to some of these elsewhere.

strata may be observed. There is the most primitive stratum of all—the prehistoric, corresponding to the present day savage in a large measure, and embodying those irrational ideas and forgotten customs, some of which have been enumerated, and which may be traced back to a time when they were by no means inconsistent with existing thought and life. Next we have the stratum resulting from barbaric civilisation, and the story-teller's exaggerated conceptions of it. It gives us such conceptions as those of jewelled caves, golden palaces, gardens with fruit-trees unknown to the botanist, and all the accustomed wealth of barbaric pearl and gold. These are all clearly derived from the surroundings of the ignorant classes among whom the stories were told, and who were easily impressed by pomp and splendour, which at the same time they magnified and non-naturalised. In this period, too, just as in the earlier period the stories had been told of divinities or of chiefs and their children, or of the medicine-man or wise woman—the most impressive figures on the savage field of vision—so now they were told of kings and princes, queens and princesses, wizards and witches, who, *mutatis mutandis*, had themselves been the figures of the earlier tales. Next we have the later strata, consisting of ideas derived (1) from the new religious beliefs of the time, Buddhist, Mohammedan, Christian; and (2) from the ever-evolving conditions of later social life. All these are usually combined in any folk-tale, but with careful examination the various strata may be separated.

It is an interesting question how far Christianity has modified the ideas of existing folk-tales. Less, perhaps, than might be imagined. Polygamy is sometimes, though not always, transformed: the different wives of one man becoming simply the jealous enemies of his one wife. The pagan underworld of the dead is changed to a subterranean

country, sometimes to fairyland.[1] A darker hue is given to the belief in sorcery and in those who practise it. In some cases of Beast-marriage the actual beast becomes a human being temporarily in beast form, but we also find this in tales from non-Christian areas. The stories of Blue-beard have become strangely altered under the influence of Christianity, though the process was inevitable whenever increasing civilisation outgrew or stifled the belief in concealed fetiches to which I have attributed the origin of such tales. Stories involving child-sacrifice have become changed to stories in which a child is promised to some being, not for a sacrifice, but simply to be under his control. Beyond these instances the tales have remained largely unaffected by Christian beliefs, just as horrible primitive practices, dating from far-off ages, have continued scarcely unchanged in remote districts in spite of centuries of Christianity.

Sometimes the incidents of early folk-tales, or these folk-tales themselves, have been embodied at a later age in the epic poems and sacred books of various races. Matthew Arnold said of the Welsh *Mabinogion* that its authors had been pillaging from an antiquity of which they did not fully possess the secret, and this is certainly true of the folk-tale material which has been worked into it. In Homer, the stories of Polyphemus and of Circe are old folk-tales swept into his net by the poet. So is the tale of Jason and Medea in the *Argonautica*. Incidents and tales occur in plenty in the Finnish *Kalevala*, the Esthonian *Kalevide*, the Hindu epics, as well as in the Ossianic, the Arthurian, and other romantic cycles of later times. This is also true of

[1] See p. 45. Sometimes the mountain, dangerous to climb, on whose top is the world of the blessed, becomes a glass mountain, which a hero must climb to attain the princess who lives under enchantment on its summit.

the Hindu Vedas, the Babylonian mythical epics, the Japanese Ko-ji-ki, and other ethnical scriptures; as well as of unwritten mythologies, Samoan, Red Indian, Negro, in all of which early variants of existing European tales are found — told of gods and divine heroes. The Japanese Ko-ji-ki, which purports to be the history of the early emperors, and of their descent from the gods, mingles actual history with an earlier mythology, in which, as in the history itself, are embedded several folk-tales. We begin with a series of divine beings and their doings, and gradually find ourselves brought down to the real people of the everyday world. The people of Uganda have a similar *unwritten* mixture of mythology and history, as readers of Sir H. Johnston's work on the Uganda protectorate will remember. The process is that of the primitive and uncritical historian everywhere. Hector Boece ushers in his kings of Scotland with a long line of royal names as unreal as Banquo and his ghostly fellow-kings, "mushroom monarchs every one of them, sprung from the fumes of conceit, folly, and falsehood, fermenting in the brains of some mad Highland seannachie," quoth the Antiquary! The portraits of this mythic line are nevertheless to be seen at Holyrood Palace. Further instances of this mingling of folk-tale with myth and history will be found in the succeeding chapters.

So far, we have been discussing the *incidents* of folk-tales and their origin. In a later chapter I shall have something to say of the origin of folk-tales themselves. Here it will suffice to point out that these separate incidents, of which any folk-tale usually contains two or more, were once separate stories. One incident afforded sufficient material for one tale in old times, as it frequently does among savages now. Later story-weavers combined these incidents in various ways, for their possible combinations are endless, and thus arose the folk-tale proper, the folk-tale of

several incidents, which gradually became stereotyped. But even that may have arisen at a comparatively early date, as just such tales are found in ancient Egypt, Greece, and Babylonia, where there is no doubt they were even then extremely old. Some of these very tales have survived to the present day; the date of their formation may have been as far off from the time of the scribe or poet who used them as his age is from our own.

The primitive origin of the stuff of folk-tales is once more seen by a study of their ethics. Now and then even the lowest savage stories, especially Australian tales, serve to point a moral, and insist on virtue rewarded, or, as in the Eskimo story of Kag-sagsuk—the ill-treated orphan who, by supernatural help, vanquished his enemies—introduce "the idea of a superior power protecting the helpless and avenging mercilessness and cruelty." Other examples will be met with, while in many stories, as is said of Red Indian mythical tales, "theology, religion, history, and all human duties are taught."[1] Such tales as introduce a broken tabu are ethical where they serve to show the dangers of disobedience, especially if the tabu affects moral conduct.[2] Savage virtue is by no means non-existent, whether in fact or in folk-tale; the sense of justice, for example, is tolerably well-developed, and we often find the ill-used hero, though himself far from being a virtuous character, coming into his own and outwitting his enemies, as in the Youngest Son cycle. So, too, the Jealous Sisters usually come to grief, and such a group of tales as that of Truth and Falsehood is highly moral in its teaching. But, on the whole, the folk-tale, savage or civilised, is singularly immoral or non-moral, from our point of view, and points directly to the rock from

[1] Rink, p. 93. Bureau of Ethnology, *First Annual Report*, p. 43.
[2] *Cf.* the Kafir tale of the disobedient girl, on p. 6.

which it was hewn—cannibalism, gluttony, cruelty, lust, and slaughter, cheating, slyness, diabolical cunning, brute force and strength abound, and are nearly always regarded as praiseworthy. These reflect the crude and narrow ethics of all primitive society. The Puss-in-Boots cycle is a case in point, the hero obtaining rewards and riches and a beautiful wife by fraud and lying.[1]

Generally speaking, the folk-tale world is one where "there ain't no ten commandments," and where astuteness, force, and cruelty are everything. "'Twas the manner of primitive man!"

Many of our European folk-tales are thus hoary with age — transcripts of the ideas, beliefs, and customs of a forgotten world, which tell their story as plainly as do the weapons of stone and bronze, the monumental remains, or the rock-shelters, hut circles, or lake dwellings, found all over the world. Told in widely-separated lands, modified and altered by passing from mouth to mouth, and by the changes of successive centuries, they yet preserve enough likeness to each other and enough of their primitive form to mark them as indeed the relics of an earlier world. Of course not all our folk-tales arose in this way. The literary faculty was still active in later ages, and must have invented many new tales. But when this was done they did not always oust the earlier tales from their merited popularity; indeed their inventors plagiarised, perhaps unconsciously, from these earlier tales. Others, again, are quite plainly derived from literary sources in the Middle Ages. The great Indian and Arab collections became known in Europe, and gave rise to similar works

[1] Other examples which suggest that kindness is rewarded occur, *e.g.*, in the New Caledonian story of Pivi and Kabo, on p. 192, and in its Eastern and European parallels; while the good result of not being too proud to take advice is inculcated in the Kafir tale referred to on the same page.

there. Some of these stories became the oral tales of the folk in Europe. An example of how this might occur is given by Dr Jahn in his *Volksmärchen aus Pommern und Rügen.* A servant-girl learnt by heart the story of Aladdin out of an abridged version of the *Arabian Nights*, and told it to a reciter in her village. Years after this man told the story to Dr Jahn, who found that it was changing into a true folk-tale with necessary adaptations. Aladdin had become a kind of Cinderella, the enchanted garden had become a Venus garden, the roc's egg (*Rochei*) had changed into a man, King Reckei. But it should be remembered that already literary tales must have had oral parallels in Europe, and that, in the East, they had been ultimately derived from oral sources, themselves the offspring of a distant past. In the same way the great collections of *novelle* found in Boccaccio's *Decamerone*, Straparola's *Notte*, and Basile's *Pentamerone*, contain many stories which are nothing but already existing oral tales embellished by these authors. Perrault did the same for some of the folk-tales of France. His collection, when introduced into England, had a marvellous popularity there, and proved fatal to many of our native tales, some of which may have been actual versions of Perrault's stories.

The method of regarding folk-tales as the fossil survivals of the thoughts and customs of the past, first suggested by Farrer and Lang, and studied in particular cases by Hartland, Gomme, and Frazer,[1] is now firmly established, and is so self-evident that one is constrained to wonder that it was not discovered sooner. It has completely overturned the theory of Max Müller, Cox, De Gubernatis, and Hahn, that

[1] See Farrer, *Primitive Manners and Customs*, 1879; Lang, *Custom and Myth;* Hartland, *Science of Fairy Tales* and *Legend of Perseus;* Gomme, *Ethnology in Folk-Lore;* Frazer, *The Golden Bough.*

folk-tales are the detritus of Aryan mythology—a theory so absurd, though set forth with marvellous ingenuity and eloquence, that further reference need not be made to it.[1] In the last chapter the relation of myth and *Märchen* will be discussed.

In this volume I have surveyed the more irrational incidents of folk-tales, and have interpreted them by the methods of what is now called the anthropological school.[2] To introduce the reader to this method I have, in the next chapter, taken several examples of unusual incidents and shown that the key which unlocks their meaning is found in the beliefs and practices of past ages, exemplified still in those of present-day savages. The succeeding chapters continue this method on an elaborate scale. It will be found that there are few of the irrational incidents of folk-tales which I have not discussed, while the more typical forms of folk-tale groups have also been passed under review. But while I have in every case given as many references to variants in any given cycle as are necessary to show its wide distribution, it has been no part of my task to exhaust all such references. To do so would have rendered the book tedious; apart from the fact that to trace every variant of all folk-tale cycles would be a superhuman task! Miss Cox has done this for Cinderella, and her brief analysis and discussion of its 318 variants extend to a portly volume. But a sufficient number of variants are cited here to show how a story cycle preserves its main features as it is met with in the most widely separated lands, while yet it presents individual differences of detail.

[1] The best answer to the whole theory is contained in Lang's *Custom and Myth; Myth, Ritual, and Religion;* and *Modern Mythology.*

[2] Where other students have examined incidents by this method I have noted the fact, usually without going over the same ground afresh.

CHAPTER II

SOME FOLK-TALE INCIDENTS

I PURPOSE to pass in review in this chapter certain folk-tale conceptions and incidents, interpreting them by the method already set forth, by way of introduction to the main part of this book. Grouping these under the heading of (1) Facts, (2) Customs, (3) Practices, and (4) Beliefs or Ideas, we shall consider (1) the position of the king, of women, and of the sorcerer in folk-tales; (2) marriage customs and name tabu; (3) some magical practices; and (4) the ideas that beasts can talk and the dead return; and, last of all, the "swallow" myth.

(1) In many folk-tales, while later conceptions of kingly state have been added, we find curious incongruities. In spite of the splendid trappings of royalty, the king may have to go out and earn his bread or work for his living; he or his queen saddles his horse; his daughters engage in menial tasks; they marry suitors of low degree, who have often won them because they have been successful competitors in difficult tasks; the kingdom goes, not to the king's son, but to his daughter and her low-born husband; kings are as plentiful as black-berries, and amid the splendours of the palace traces of the hut or hovel constantly peer forth. So in the *Odyssey* Nausicaa is discovered washing clothes, and kings have "neat-

herds for friends, and the pig-stye against their front-door." Obviously these are the traces of a simply organised social system, and the stories had been told first, not of kings, but of the head-man of the village community and his family, of the petty chiefs of small tribal groups, not far removed from their own "subjects."[1] Later ages made them more and more regal monarchs in the stories—reflections of the kings of the period, but the traces of their simple origin still cling to them. Their numbers and the ease with which the hero passes from the territory of one to that of another, are easily explained on this theory. It explains why, *e.g.*, Grimm's story of The Three Birds should begin,—"Many years ago, there lived up among the hills in our country *some petty kings.*" It explains, too, why the menial should marry the princess—because, after all, she had not originally been so very far removed from him in rank.

Sometimes the king offers his daughter's hand to the man who will best perform certain tasks involving skill or strength—itself evidence of primitive marriage customs. We shall find this incident in many of our story cycles, those of the Dragon Sacrifice, of the Youngest Son, etc.; it occurs as an actual custom among, *e.g.*, the Dyaks of Borneo, where a suitor must have taken so many heads before he can obtain his wife.[2] But in many European tales it is the girl herself who disposes of her hand and sets the task;

[1] The numerous groups of barrows and tumuli in England and Northern Europe suggest local federations of small tribal divisions, each with a chief or petty king. The barrows are the burial-places of such chiefs and their families.

[2] Ling Roth, ii. 166. In one of the tales of the Fians the King of Vedia's daughter has to be fought for, and afterwards her hand is only given to him who can make a clear spring to the place where she is. The jump incident occurs in many tales. J. G. Campbell, *The Fians* (Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition), p. 225.

her father has nothing to do with it; while the kingdom passes to her husband (as in the stories where the king sets the task), who then becomes one of her kin, and lives in her home instead of taking her to his house. In some savage tales or myths we find a similar state of things. The Dyaks have a legend that the daughter of their great ancestor would not marry her betrothed till he had brought her a present worthy of her acceptance, and involving the doing of some doughty deed. He brought her a head, and she was satisfied. In actual practice, as we have seen, the Dyak father insists on this, but even now a Dyak girl will herself do the same. So in some Zuni tales the girl sets the tasks herself, and chooses her own husband, who then lives under her father's roof, and is adopted by her father as his son—a reflection of actual practice. In two stories we have a poor despised youth, or an ugly man, winning the proud maiden's hand, just as in the European tales. The Japanese story of the Fire-Fly's Lover tells how the Fire-Fly lays an impossible task on her suitors. "If they are wise, they will not try to perform it; if they love their lives more than they love me, I do not want any of them. Whoever succeeds may have me for his bride." Hi-maro, the prince of the fire-flies, alone succeeds in bringing her the fire which consumes all the other insect-suitors who attempt to bring it. He, of course, wins her.[1] The story is told of insects, but, *mutatis mutandis*, was told of human beings to begin with. Many stories, influenced by the customs of marriage and inheritance of the later patriarchal age, have modified these incidents, but in others they remain with little change, and bear witness to their origin in a time when woman possessed power and importance — the age of the matriarchate, when

[1] Ling Roth, ii. 163, 166. Cushing, pp. 1, 107, 288. Griffis, p. 40.

descent was reckoned through the woman, when knowledge and the elements of civilisation were peculiarly hers, handed down from mother to daughter. This also appears in folk-tales. The stupid giant or ogre has a clever wife; the hero, smart as he is, is not unusually prompted by the heroine.[1] The frequency with which the witch rather than the wizard appears in these stories, is also significant. The bad character with which she is invested is the result of Christian influences as well as of the social changes which, making the man the centre of the social group, sought to break down the power and knowledge of woman. The priestess of the earlier civilisation, in whom all lore and religion was embodied, became the accursed witch of the later time. But frequently, too, the witch appears in her primitive form as the wise woman, or is even described as a queen—reminiscence of her important functions in the mother age.[2]

The large part which magic and sorcery play in these tales points back to an early age when the wise woman or the medicine-man was a prominent figure in the social system. Mediæval witchcraft used many magical practices, but it is far from responsible for those with which our folk-tales bristle. Among the magical actions which we discover in the world of folk-tale are the production of anything at will, obtaining complete power over others by means of charms and spells, making inanimate things speak and act or take any form, superlative strength, the possession of magical weapons, invulnerability to the most deadly arms, the power of shape-shifting, as well as of transforming or petrifying others, giving drugs or articles which will produce fertility, raising the

[1] *Cf.* the Transformation Flight stories, *infra*, p. 170.

[2] See the chapters in Pearson, *Chances of Death*, vol. ii., on these subjects. They form a lucid and complete argument for the existence of the mother age in folk-tales.

dead to life, magical and instantaneous flight through the air, and so on. All these things occur, not as unexpected or unusual incidents, but as the affairs of daily and ordinary life. But this is an exact reflection of primitive and savage life everywhere. The medicine-man, or wise woman, is all powerful; magic governs all men's actions, and a magical theory of the universe lies behind all their thoughts. There is, in fact, no magical occurrence in folk-tales which could not be amply paralleled from savage sources, while savage folk-tales, again, simply embody the magical beliefs of those who tell them. All this once more suggests that our folk-tales are the relics of a primitive society in which, as with savages, magic was an important factor, while the frequency with which magical acts are attributed to women—to the heroine or the witch—should also be noted.

(2) We have already seen how, before obtaining his bride, the hero has to perform certain tasks. Sometimes, however, he has to recognise her among several girls, all dressed alike, or alike in appearance. In some cases she warns him of this beforehand, and tells him how he is to recognise her; she will make some slight sign, or, as in a Danish story, she will pinch him, or she will have some small peculiarity in her dress. Other stories make the recognition depend on some accident which has happened to the girl before—the losing of a finger or toe joint (as in a group of stories which will be discussed later); while in some, an insect which has promised to help the hero alights at the psychological moment on her face. In this act of choice thus elaborated there is the relic of a primitive marriage ceremony, and one which still survives in some parts of Europe. In Transylvania the bride and two other women hide behind a curtain, and the man has to guess which is the bride—all three trying to confuse him. At peasant weddings in

Lorraine the bride and three girls are all dressed alike, so as to make recognition difficult. If the bridegroom guesses right at first, he dances with the bride all night; otherwise he must make the other girls his partners.[1] Sometimes, as in Abyssinia, at the marriage of a princess, her sister is dressed exactly as she is; elsewhere, the bride is surrounded by several girls (Zulus, the people of Celebes, Malays, Egyptians).[2] These, as well as the folk-tale incident of the recognition of the bride, point back to a primitive practice of hiding her among others of her own sex, so as to make it difficult for the man to obtain her; not as a task, however, but in reality as a ceremony to lessen the unknown dangers which to the primitive mind were supposed to lurk in marriage. The modern custom of providing the bride with a troop of bridesmaids is a relic of this primitive ceremony.

Another relic of primitive sexual relations is found in the many stories in which an ogre or dwarf or monster steals a maiden away from her home and forcibly marries her. The girl is usually a beautiful princess, who is rescued by the hero. It is legitimate to see here a reminiscence of what must frequently have happened when a higher and a lower race came into contact within the same region. The men of the lower race would covet the fairer women of the higher race, and abduct them to the remote and wild districts whither they had been driven. As time went on, the memory of these acts made the men of the lower race assume gigantic or horrible shapes, while the women became ever more lovely and ever higher in rank. Sometimes,

[1] E. Gerard, i. 185. Gomme, *Folk-Lore Relics*, p. 232. Mrs Gomme suggests that one form of "Kiss in the Ring," in which the girl's face is covered with a shawl, and the man has to guess who she is, is also a relic of such customs. See Windle, *Life in Early Britain*, pp. 3-4.

[2] Crawley, p. 338.

however, the abductor is the king of elf-land, as in the English story of Childe Rowland, who rescues his sister, Burd Ellen,[1] from the fairy-mound, whither the elf-king had carried her. If fairies were once a real race, living underground and annoying in every possible way the race who had dispossessed them, this story also takes rank with the others. The actual deeds of the lower and hostile race became the fictitious incidents told of fairies and dwarfs, giants and monsters; for, as Emerson says, "time dissipates to shining ether the solid angularity of facts." Such thefts of women are common wherever hostile tribes are found living in contact; but the most repulsive form of it known to me is that of the Darien tribes, who cohabited with their captives and brought up the children till they were thirteen, when they ate both them and their mothers.[2] The incident of the capture of a mother, sister, or lover occurs in some of the Youngest Son cycle of tales. Here is a Red Indian story which, in some respects, is a close parallel to them. Stone Shirt killed Sikor (the Crane), and carried off his wife. She left a child behind her, and to him a ghost revealed all. The boy resolved to enlist all nations in his cause, but first bade his grandmother cut him in two. From the two pieces sprang two boys. They, with the help of various animals, collected a vast army of people, whom they gave to drink out of a magical cup, which always remained full. Arrived at the realms of Stone Shirt, the boys transformed themselves into doves in order to see two maidens bathing in a pond. The girls captured them, and carried them to their father, Stone Shirt, who would fain have killed them, but at his daughters' entreaty, let them go. Next they found their mother, and put her in a place of safety;

[1] Jacobs, *English Fairy Tales.*
[2] Hakluyt Society, *Cieza de Leon*, p. 50 *seq.*

after which they transformed themselves into mice, and gnawed the strings of the invincible magic bows of Stone Shirt's daughters. When morning came, Stone Shirt walked out of his tent and sat down on the rock under which the boys' friend Togoa, the rattle-snake, was hiding. He sunk his fangs into the flesh of the ogre, who called on his daughters for help. But their bows were of no avail, and they with their father, perished. Although Stone Shirt is a mythic figure, the incident of the theft is obviously based on native experience.[1]

A large number of stories relate how the true bride has her place taken by another woman until the imposture is discovered. Of this there are four distinct types. In an Albanian story, a girl with her servant is sent by her mother to a place where the king will pass, in hope that he will be struck with her charms and marry her. The servant pushes her into a well, and becomes the king's wife. Meanwhile, the heroine has been taken care of by the negress queen who reigns beneath the well, and when at last the king comes to her land, she tells him the girl's story. Then he marries her, and cuts the servant in pieces.[2] This is one type. In the next, represented by the Norse tale of Bushy Bride, the girl whose portrait

[1] Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of Ethnology, *Report*, i. 47. In spite of a certain likeness to some European tales (*e.g.*, the Russian story of the *Norka*, p. 350), there is no doubt this tale is original and "honest Injun." It is an excellent instance of how a comparatively elaborate savage folk-tale arises out of current experiences and beliefs—capture of women, animal help, transformation, and magic—the result being a tale which might easily be supposed to be borrowed from outside sources. The boys, as doves watching the girls bathing and themselves being captured, looks like an inversion of the Swan-maiden incident.

[2] Dozon, p. 57. *Cf.* the Fjort story already cited, p. 5, and one in the Japanese *Ko-ji-ki* (sect. lxxvii., p. 204), where an emperor sends his son to bring two girls, of whose beauty he has heard. The son marries them himself, substituting two others for them. For a further discussion of this cycle, see chap. vi.

the king has seen has her place taken by her step-sister, and the king, disappointed at the latter's ugliness, punishes the true bride's brother. Then follows the incident of the true bride appearing three times in the king's house reproaching "ugly Bushy Bride," and her capture by the king, who destroys the false bride and her mother.[1] In a third type, like the Russian story of Princess Marya, the substitution by the stepmother occurs only when the true bride's child is born. She is turned into a goose, and also appears in the palace, taking off her feather dress and suckling her child. The last time the king seizes the dress and burns it, grasps his true wife, who turns into several shapes and struggles to be free, but finally resumes her own form, and is happily restored to her husband.[2] A fourth type is represented by an Italian story, in which the girl's sisters pluck out her eyes and cut off her hands before ejecting her from the palace. One of them takes her place and, becoming *enceinte*, wishes for figs, then for fish. A friendly serpent tells the heroine of this; she obtains them and sends a friend to the palace with them, bidding her ask for a pair of eyes and hands in exchange. When the true bride has thus recovered her missing members and been healed, the prince recognises her.[3]

An interesting Basuto story, which in some

[1] Dasent, p. 405.

[2] Ralston, p. 183. *Cf.* an Esthonian story, where the mother is changed into a wolf when her child is born, and the witch's daughter takes her place. The nurse takes the child for a walk, the wolf follows them, and all is discovered. Kirby, ii. 45.

[3] Comparetti, No. 25. *Cf.* a Lorraine variant, Cosquin, ii. 42. There are also Greek (Hahn, No. 28), Russian (Gubernatis, *Z.M.*, i. 218), Catalan (*Rondallayre*, iii. 14), and Sicilian (Pitré, No. 62) variants, but in all another woman, not the bride's sister, takes her place. *Cf.* the Abandoned Wife cycle, p. 67 *infra*. See also p. 90 for a similar bargain, and the Kashmir tale in the chapter on the sacrifice to a Dragon. In an early version of *Merlin*, Guinevere's foster-sister is nearly substituted for herself on the bridal night, and later usurps her place. Saintsbury, *Flourishing of Romance*, p. 110.

respects is a parallel to the Fjort impostor story already cited, has a link of connection with all these groups. A mother sends her daughter to her sister's village, where she will become the wife of her sister's husband, but cautions her not to look behind. She disobeys the injunction, and that moment is joined by a witch, who persuades her to exchange dresses with her. Arrived at the village, she personates the girl, who is sent every day to watch the corn. There she sings her song telling her woes; an old woman watching with her tells all to the husband, who comes secretly and hears for himself. The witch is then killed, but a pumpkin grows up on the spot, and when the girl has a child, drops off its stalk and beats her. The pumpkin is burned; a thistle springs up, and resumes this savage conduct; it, too, is burned, but becomes a pumpkin seed, which bites the child. The husband at last catches this seed, grinds it to powder and throws it into the fire, and there is an end of it.[1]

There are other primitive, as well as European and Asiatic, versions of all these types.[2] How are we to account for the incident of the substitution? Here, again, we may point to actual marriage ceremonial. Let us first note that among the peasantry of Europe (Brittany, Roumania, Sweden, Poland, and Esthonia), as among the Beni-Amer of Abyssinia, it is sometimes usual to substitute a false bride for the true one several times running, before the bridegroom is finally

[1] Jacottet, p. 78. *Cf.* a Zulu version in Callaway, p. 296. The witch has a tail, which uncurls at night and devours all the food within reach. According to widespread belief, vampires, cannibal demons, witches, etc., are not properly dead unless they are completely burned, and often survive in a new form, insect or other. See examples on pp. 102, 130. In the chapter on the Dismembered coming to life, many instances of the dead turning into a tree will be found.

[2] For many references, see Miss Cox's *Cinderella*, p. 478.

allowed to depart with his wife.[1] This has become a mere game; once it was a serious practice, intended, like the choosing of the bride from among several women, to neutralise the dangers of marriage. It is but part of a larger group of customs in which (as we shall see later in discussing the Cupid and Psyche tales) the bridegroom must not see his wife or she her husband on the wedding-night, or for some time after, or until the first child is born. Customs such as these would easily suggest the possibility of another woman, in love with the bridegroom, or for ulterior ends, getting rid of the true bride and taking her place. Indeed, I see no reason to doubt that such an incident may actually have taken place. Other incidents would then be worked into the story, which would receive an imaginative setting, and various types would easily be evolved.

Leaving marriage ceremonies we may pass to another custom, that of the Name tabu, which we shall consider as it occurs in two groups of stories. The first group has an immense number of variants, differing in details, but all having the same central incident. I shall cite a Magyar version. A girl was so lazy that her mother scolded her every day. A prince passing by asked what was the matter, and the mother, concealing the truth, said her daughter span so much that, like Oliver Twist, she always asked for more. The prince took her away, as she was very pretty, and said he would marry her if she span a shed full of flax in a month. For three weeks the girl did nothing but bewail her lot. Then a little man appeared, and offered to spin it all on condition that

[1] Crawley, *op. cit.*, p. 337. E. Gerard, i. 253. *Cf.* Leah given in place of Rachel to Jacob. Though the reason for the substitution alleged by their father is that the younger may not be given before the first-born (a custom which also prevailed among the Celts of Ireland, *Révue Celtique*, xiii. 37), it may also have been connected with the practice spoken of above.

if she did not find out his name by the end of the week he would carry her off. Agreed! During the week the girl asked a servant what the news was, and learned that he had seen a little man in a wood spinning and singing,

> "My name is Dancing Vargaluska,
> My wife will be good Spinster Sue!"

The end of the week came, the flax was spun, the old man was ready to carry off the girl, when she cried, "If I am not mistaken, your name is Dancing Vargaluska," and on this he rushed off in a furious temper. The prince married the girl, and learning from three old women present at the wedding that they had become so ugly from spinning so much, he forbade her ever to touch a wheel again, to her intense delight.

Every European country furnishes variants of this tale, of which the English "Tom-Tit-Tot" must be familiar to every one; in some the mysterious being is not a dwarf or fairy, but the devil; sometimes the girl has to remember a name already known; in others, like Grimm's Rumpelstiltskin, she has to promise her first child in the event of the name not being guessed. There are other stories, Welsh and Scots, in which a poor widow is assisted by the fairy, who claims as reward her baby if she does not discover the fairy's name by a certain time. This is, of course, the well-known Scots story of Whuppity-stoorie.[1]

[1] The Magyar tale is in Jones, p. 46. Several French as well as Austrian, Lettish, Slovak, Tyrolese, Sicilian, and Icelandic versions are cited in Cosquin, i. 268. For a Swedish variant, see Thorpe, *Y.T.S.*, p. 168; Basque, Webster, p. 56; the English Tom-Tit-Tot is given in *County Folk-Lore* (Suffolk, p. 43); see also Clodd's volume, *Tom-Tit-Tot*. The Welsh, Highland, and Scots variants are in Rhys, ii. 583; Campbell, *Superstitions*, p. 147; and Chambers, p. 221. There is a curious Scots version, with helpful and kindly fairies, in

The second group may be illustrated by an Icelandic tale. A farmer was told by the bishop to build a church within a certain time. A stranger offered to help him, the payment being that he must give him his little son, if he did not find out the stranger's name by the time the work was completed. Wandering sadly in the fields as the building was about to be finished, he lay down by a grassy mound. There he heard a woman's voice singing to her child within the mound,

> "Soon will thy father Finnur come from Reynir,
> Bringing a little playmate for thee here."

Jumping up he rushed to the church and found the man nailing on the last plank. "Well done, friend Finnur," he cried, "how soon you have finished your work." At that moment Finnur disappeared and was never seen again.

This story, which is told of Reynir Church, is widespread among Scandinavian and Teutonic peoples, and is usually attached to some particular building, as Drontheim Cathedral in Sweden, or Eckwadt Church in Germany. There the helper was a cannibalistic troll, for the mother is heard hushing her child with the words, "To-morrow comes thy father Zi, with Christian blood for thee." Frequently the builder leaves the little bit of work unfinished, and the story is then told to explain why that particular part of the building was not completed. The same tale is told of St Olaf and a giant, who, when the saint called him

Douglas, *Scottish Fairy Tales*, p. 109, "Habitrot." *Cf.* also Henderson, p. 258. The little old man may be explained as a reminiscence of the clever but hostile vanquished race who afterwards helped to mould the fairy superstition (see p. 22 *supra*), women- and child-stealers. The three old women are the usual "fairy godmothers," fates, three in number, who appear in so many tales, and take us back to the three Deæ Matres of earlier Teutonic and Celtic religion.

Wind and Weather, fell and broke in a thousand pieces.[1]

Both groups of stories exemplify, like those in which the wife must never ask her mysterious husband's name,[2] the world-wide belief that one's name is part of one's personality, or indeed the soul or breath itself (as is proved by the similarity between the words for name and soul in many languages),[3] and that it is highly dangerous for any other person to know it. If he does, you will be completely in his power, on the well-known principle of sympathetic magic, that whatever you do to the part is done to the whole. Hence, savage peoples in all parts of the globe show the utmost reluctance or terror at revealing their names. These are usually kept secret, and a nickname or pseudo-name is taken and commonly used. Red Indians, Ainos, Eskimo, Mongols, Dyaks, Australians, are all in the same tale, and would heartily agree with Shakespeare, though in a deeper sense, that "he that filches from me my good name robs me of that which not enriches him and makes me poor indeed." Survivals of such customs among civilised peoples, attenuated though they may be, prove that our barbaric and savage ancestors were equally superstitious regarding their names. In the same way the dead must never be named, lest the naming should bring them back to work harm. And transferred to a higher sphere, we have the religious conception, emphasised in Egyptian, Babylonian, and Hindu rituals, that to know and use the names of the gods is to force them to do the worshipper's bidding. Transferring this to our stories, we see the application at once. The voluntary servant, who had hoped to get his employer into his power, found the tables turned on him when the latter discovered his

[1] Arnason, i. 49. *Cf.* also Hofberg, p. 12; Thorpe, *N.M.*, iii. 38; Keightley, p. 116.

[2] See p. 328.

[3] *Cf.* Rhys, *Nineteenth Century*, 1891, p. 566.

secret name. Now he was helpless and in the power of the employer; hence his anger, his flight, or his death.

(3) Among the more mysterious and magical practices of folk-tales, that of causing a magic sleep may be noted. In some cases, like an episode in the Finnish *Kalevala*, we are not told how this is done. Turo, son of Yumala, went to the devil's country to recover the sun and moon, which had been stolen. There he saw three girls engaged in polishing them, and having sent a magic sleep on them, he fled with his spoils. So in a Tuscan tale two witches cast a youth into a deep sleep, and then suck his blood to make themselves invisible.[1] In others the sleep is brought on by a magic formula or charm. This occurs in several Cinderella stories. The neglected heroine of a Gaelic version is fed by a sheep (her mother); her stepsister is sent to spy upon her; the sheep sends her to sleep by saying—

> "Shut one eye, shut two eyes,
> Shut your eyes in deep sleep."

On the third occasion the sheep forgets to say "two eyes," and one eye remains open to spy what takes place, with the result that the sheep is put to death by the stepmother.[2] Other variants, Scandinavian, Russian, German, introduce a three-eyed stepsister, who spies with her third eye when the other two sleep.[3] This formula occurs also in Russian Jack and the Beanstalk stories, where the hero, who has climbed to the sky, omits to charm one of the eyes of the sentinel goats, and his doings are discovered.

[1] *Folk-Lore*, 1895, p. 343. Leland, *E.R.R.*, p. 218. *Cf.* Curtin, p. 185, story of a vampire.

[2] Cox, *Cinderella*, p. 534.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 19. Afanasief, pt. vi., p. 270. Grimm, No. 130.

The same method of lulling to sleep by means of a charm is known among the Maoris. Tinirau and his friends go to the house of a priest against whom he has a grudge, and send all those in the house to sleep by repeating the charm, when it becomes an easy matter to carry off the priest. So, to cite the *Kalevala* again, Väinämöinen put all the people of Pohjola to sleep by singing a magic song when he wished to take the sampo.[1]

Other stories refer the sleep to mechanical means. Some variants of the Cinderella group make the heroine induce the magic slumber by inviting the stepsister to lay her head on her lap, in order that she may comb out her tresses. This occurs in Gaelic, Norse, Russian, and Lettish versions, and in all the girl has a third eye (in the back of her head), which continues awake; there are also Italian and Lorraine versions without the third eye formula, the girl only pretending sleep on the second occasion.[2] A ring placed on the finger causes slumber in the Albanian story of "The World's Beauty." When the hero who has been sent to discover her pulls it off, she awakens. In many Eastern tales death (or sleep) is caused by laying a magic rod near the girl's head; she is restored or awakened by placing another at her feet. Grimm's story of "The Briar Rose," with its variants, makes the heroine and all about her go to sleep when she pricks herself with her spindle; a sleep-thorn is a favourite instrument in Scandinavian tales; *e.g.*, in the Edda, Velin fixes a thorn in the Valkyrie Brunhild to make her sleep profoundly. A pin is used for the same purpose in an Irish story.[3]

Lastly, there is the sleep induced by the "Hand of

[1] Ralston, p. 294; *cf.* p. 435 *infra*. Shortland, p. 71. *Kalevala*, Rune 42.

[2] Campbell, ii. 300. Asbjoernson, p. 416. Afanasief, p. 273. Leskien, p. 447. Gubernatis, *Novelline*, p. 16. Cosquin, i. 248.

[3] Dozon, p. 7. Arnason, pp. 411, 441. Hyde, *Beside the Fire*, p. 39.

Glory." An English story tells how a beggar was allowed to spend the night at an inn. When all had gone to bed, the cook saw him produce a human hand, and, anointing the fingers, apply a match to them, with the result that all the inmates of the house slept a charmed sleep. While the thief was engaged in collecting the valuables, she threw milk over the flaming fingers, extinguishing the flame, when everyone awoke, and captured him red-handed. This story, which has many variants, Portuguese, Lorraine, etc., and corresponds to the popular belief in this effect of the Hand of Glory, presents some analogies to the Robber Bridegroom group, of which I cite a Greek version. A girl having married a merchant, saw him secretly devouring a corpse. She fled, and later married a prince. Her first husband sought her, entered the palace, and sprinkled the prince with the dust of a corpse, casting him into a dead sleep. Then he carried off his wife, who, however, by a stratagem caused his death.[1]

Such incidents as these, whatever means may be used for causing the sleep, are based on the belief in the possibility of such a process, and one and all suggest the hypnotic slumber. Is it possible that the use of hypnotism was known among the people with whom such stories originated, and at such an early time? An examination of the methods of the savage medicine-man, shaman, or sorcerer, supplies evidence in favour of this view. Hypnotic processes were freely used in the strange "ghost-dance" of the Sioux and other Red Men. Zulu sorcerers can influence others *à distance*, making them come when called; this is a frequent incident in Icelandic tales—people go in spite of themselves when magically called by enemies. The same practice is known to the Negro

[1] Hartland, *English Folk-Tales*, p. 198. Henderson, p. 239. Cosquin, i. 178. Legrand, p. 115.

medicine-man. A fetich doctor made an idol, giving it spirit power by placing "medicine" inside it. Then he fashioned a duplicate, in which he placed only powdered charcoal. To all appearance they were exactly alike. He hid them in the depths of the forest, and, having returned to the village, put a woman under the power of otagâ (a certain kind of spirit), so that she should go to the hiding-place and bring him the real idol. In other words, he hypnotised her. At first she went at random, then with a loud yell she rushed off to the forest, found the spot, and took up the genuine idol, returning with it to the village, where she laid it at the feet of the wizard. Modern experiments made by Parisian scientists with hypnotic patients bear a strong likeness to this Negro case—the patient going through several streets to a certain house, and returning with some object found there, all at the suggestion of the hypnotist. Annamese medicine-men hypnotise those who come to consult them, by bidding them gaze steadily at two burning rings of wood, while they talk to the "subjects," and make weird gestures with head and hands. These methods resemble those still used by many hypnotists—gazing at a bright object, passes with the hands, and verbal suggestion. Dr Otto Stoll's great work on *Suggestion und Hypnotismus in der Völkerpsychologie* is full of similar cases; the most elaborate study is found in the Smithsonian Institute's Report of Siouan hypnotic methods; while mediæval and later witchcraft literature teems with incidents of inhibition, of the victim's *rapport* with the witch, of the witch's insensibility to torture (probably by self-induced trance), and of illusions on the part of the subjects—all of which may be classed as hypnotic.[1]

[1] *Bureau of Ethnology*, 14*th Annual Report*, part ii. Callaway, p. 431. Powell and Magnusson, ii. 103, 123. Nassau, p. 309. *Revue de l'Hypnotisme*, October 1893. Dr Bastian's *Ueber psychische Beobachtungen bei Naturvolkern* gives other savage instances.

If, then, savage medicine-man and European witch made use of what were then deemed magical methods to induce sleep, but are now obtaining a tardy recognition from science (more abusive of the early mesmerists than ever were theologians of the Darwinian theory), there is no reason to doubt that the magic sleep of our tales is simply an exaggerated reflection of those very methods themselves.

Another branch of primitive magic belonging to the X region is suggested by some folk-tale incidents, which may be illustrated first by a story found in West Africa. A woman called Maria had a magic mirror which possessed the power of speech, and which she daily asked, "My mirror, is there any other beautiful woman like myself?" And the mirror would reply, "Mistress, there is none." But at last the mirror, which was kept in a forbidden room, was seen by Maria's daughter, who disobeyed her mother's injunction, and it told her that there was none so beautiful as she. The mirror told the same to Maria herself, who, in a fit of jealousy, sent the girl off with two soldiers, who were to put her to death. They spared her, smearing their swords with the blood of two dogs, and showed them to Maria. Meanwhile the girl came to a house, in which she hid, tidying it up day by day. The house belonged to some robbers, who bade one of their number watch for the unknown servant. He discovered her, and the robbers made her their sister. Meanwhile the mother had her suspicions of the soldiers, and sent an old woman to look for the girl. The witch discovered her, and under pretence of braiding her hair, stuck a nail into her head, which caused her to fall apparently dead. On their return the robbers placed the girl in a golden casket, which they suspended to a flagstaff. There it was found by two men, one of whom, called Ogula, took it to his house, where he discovered its contents.

He hid it in a room, which he visited every day to admire the sleeping beauty, forbidding his own daughter ever to cross the threshold. She, too, disobeyed him, and in the sequel, as she played with the girl's hair, found the nail and pulled it out, causing life to be restored instantly.[1]

This story has several European versions, and Dr Nassau, who cites it, is of opinion that it has been derived by the natives from the Portuguese occupants three hundred years ago. It is Grimm's story of Sneewitchen, in which the queen has a magic mirror which speaks, and which, after she thinks the heroine has been disposed of, tells her that Snow White is still alive.

> "Amid the forest, darkly green,
> She lives with dwarfs—the hills between."

The speaking mirror is found in most of the many versions of this tale.[2] In other stories the mirror does not speak, but reveals distant scenes and hidden events. Thus in a Russian story a little girl is murdered by her sisters for the sake of her little silver plate, which shows her beautiful far-off things—"towns and rivers, and forests and seas, lofty mountains and beautiful skies." Another incident is that of the story group in which three brothers are suitors for the same girl, and it is arranged that she will marry the one who brings home the most wonderful thing.

[1] Nassau, p. 337.

[2] Grimm cites several variants. There is a Hungarian version in Jones, p. 166, and a Wallachian in Schott, No. 5. Mr Nutt cites an early Gaelic variant, in which a trout in a well (the Celtic "Salmon of Knowledge") takes the place of the mirror. He thinks the clear surface of the well may have suggested the mirror of other versions; while again the introduction of the mirror may have arisen from a misunderstanding of the name of the divining animal; in a German variant it is a dog called *Spiegel* (*Folk-Lore*, iii. 41). In any case, mirror-divination must have been known before the mistake arose.

One gets a magic carriage; another, apples which heal; a third, a mirror which reveals what is going on wherever the seeker thinks of. A Mingrelian story is curious. Three sons set out to find a fish which would cure their father. The youngest was successful, but spared the fish's life on its earnest entreaty. Later, this was discovered, and he was ordered to be killed. He escaped, and spared the lives of a deer, an eagle, and a jackal, who, like the fish, promised to help him. Next he sought to marry a maiden who would only give herself to the suitor who should successfully conceal himself from her. Many had tried and failed, and had been put to death in consequence. Our hero tried, and got the fish to swallow him. Now the girl had a mirror which always showed her where her suitors were hid. She looked into it; he was not in the sky, or on the land, but she saw him in the sea. His cleverness merited her pardon; she gave him another chance. Again the mirror revealed his hiding-place with the eagle, and a third time with the deer in his lair. But the fourth time the jackal buried him under the maiden's bower; she looked at the vision of the sea, the sky, the hills; he was not there. Then she dashed the mirror to the floor, whereupon the hero emerged from his hiding-place and married her. A Dyak story may be compared with these. Si Jura, having reached the sky, like Jack after climbing his beanstalk, looked into a large jar and saw his relatives at home, and the sight at once made him long to return. In a Fjort tale, cited later, the hero, after his marriage, discovered several mirrors, in each of which he saw a village that he knew; but in one was reflected the image of a town unknown to him, and he would not rest till he had discovered it.[1]

[1] Naake, pp. 170, 194. Wardrop, p. 124. Ling Roth, i. 307; see p. 436 *infra*. Dennett, p. 60; see pp. 383-4 *infra*. Miss Cox, p. 483, gives other references.

These incidents are obviously based on the phenomena of crystal-gazing, which is both ancient and widespread. By looking into a dish of water, a metal mirror, a gem, water held in the palm of the hand, etc., visions are seen by those who have the power of "scrying," as it is called. These visions may be the suggestions of what is latent in the sub-conscious self, or fashioned, like dreams, out of the elements of past impressions; but sometimes, like clairvoyance, they show forth future events. Whatever be its cause, it has been known and used from a remote antiquity, and by savage and civilised races. The negro fetich-priest uses a mirror for discovering distant or future events; sorcerers in Yucatan and Dyak *manangs* have a quartz crystal for the same purpose—this suggests that the quartz stones found in prehistoric graves may have been used in this way; "cup-divination" is used in Polynesia; American Indians use both crystals and water; Malagasy natives, crystals. The art was also known to Assyrians, Persians, Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans.[1] It was inevitable that such a universal practice would find some place in folk-tale, and we are only surprised that it does not occur oftener. The mirror which speaks is, of course, nothing but the story-teller's conception of the hallucinatory crystal or mirror.

[1] Reade, p. 542. *Cf.* p. 123 *infra*. *F.L.J.*, i. 245. Ling Roth, i. 273. Ellis, ii. 240. Lang, *Making of Religion*, pp. 90-92. Parish, *Hallucinations and Illusions. Proc. Soc. Psych. Research*, v. 486 *seq.* Other negro instances are given by Dr Nassau, p. 134. A magician divined from his mirror that a woman who consulted him would marry a white man and have two children. Like Sarah, she scoffed, as she believed herself past child-bearing, but five years later the divination proved correct. Another magician saw a woman's brother lying dead 300 miles off, describing his wounds, and the details of the place where he had never himself been. The information proved correct. Dr Nassau knows of telepathic cases among the negroes; see p. 208 *infra*.

In the folk-tale world animals talk and act precisely as men do, as is evidenced best of all by the Puss-in-Boots cycle. This is no mere *façon de parler:* it is accepted as quite natural by children; the peasantry think it may once have happened; savages believe thoroughly in it; and we are, therefore, once more driven to the conclusion that the talking animals of all folk-tales descend from an age when it was one of the commonplaces of thought and belief that animals did and could talk, and were, in effect, nothing but men and women in animal shape. Modern savages still believe this; to multiply proofs is here unnecessary; let it suffice to quote the words of Mr Im Thurn, than whom no one has a better right to speak on the workings of the savage mind. "To the ear of the savage," he says, "animals certainly seem to talk. This fact is universally evident, and ought to be fully recognised."[1] It is not surprising that savages should think thus, when we learn that Basque peasants often preface their stories with the words, "This happened, sir, in the time when all animals and all things could speak," while no one doubts the literal truth of this statement.[2] In many parts of Europe—Germany, Roumania, France, Switzerland, England—it is firmly believed by the peasants that animals have the gift of speech on Christmas Eve or on New Year's Day; but men must not hear them talk, else they will die.[3] Greeks and Romans also believed in this occasional gift of tongues, as the incidents reported by Livy will show. In mediæval times Beast Fables were largely made use of by preachers; beasts symbolised men, and their words and actions were intended to teach a lesson. These were largely drawn from Eastern sources; Buddhist literature abounds in them.

[1] *Indians of Guiana*, p. 351.

[2] Webster, *Basque Legends*, xi.

[3] Thorpe, *N.M.*, iii. 7. E. Gerard, i. 337. Bérenger-Féraud, ii. 461. Jones, p. 421.

Most folk-tale collections contain specimens of them, which are yet told among the peasantry. But they were not invented to point a moral; they already existed as primitive folk-tales, and all savage collections are full of stories of animals which it would take little alteration or dressing to turn into genuine *fabliaux*. Such savage stories are of the Brer Rabbit class, and tell how this or the other animal successfully tricked the others. As a rule, each people has its favourite rogue animal — Hottentots, Bushmen, and Berbers, the jackal; Bantus, Negroes, Mongols, and Coreans, the rabbit or hare; Malays and Dyaks, the moose-deer and tortoise; Red Indians, the turtle, or coyote, or raven.[1] The humour of these stories is exquisite, while the astuteness and cunning of the animals, the vengeance which usually follows on their actions, are a curious revelation of savage ethics.

Another idea which is also derived from early belief about animals, is that each class of animals or, sometimes, all animals in general, have a chief or king, villages of their own, and a social organisation which is simply a reflection of that found among the people themselves. Among the Polynesians, the people of Yucatan, Hindus, Tibetans, and Kashmiri, Africans, and natives of Guiana, to mention only a few, we find a chief or king of each species. This also occurs in European folk-lore, as in Celtic tales, where the creatures have each a head-chief or leader.[2] But Kafirs, Mongols, and Pawnees all believe that animals of sorts group themselves under one leader, and have regular laws, distribution of labour, watch-

[1] Theal, pp. 175, 213; Basset, xi. Steere, *J.A.I.*, 1872, cli.; Allen, p. 34. Skeat, xii.; Ling Roth, i. 311. Cushing, *passim*. In Bushman beast stories each animal speaks a language peculiar to itself, a modification of the Bushman dialect.

[2] Gill, p. 100. Brinton, *F.L.J.*, i. 256. Miss Stokes, pp. 67, 291. Knowles, p. 205. Theal, p. 107. Brett, p. 167. Carmichael, *Carmina Gadelica*, ii. 332.

men, etc.[1] All readers of folk-tales are familiar with references to the kings of birds, of fishes, of serpents, who summon their followers to help some hero whom they have befriended, so that it is unnecessary to labour this argument further. It explains itself by actual belief dating from primitive ages.

But in most tales we find that animals have a language of their own, which may be learned by men. When it is known, all that animals say is revealed, and often important secrets and recondite wisdom are discovered. In a whole cycle of stories, with Basque, Portuguese, French, Russian, English, and other variants, we are told how a father ejects or murders his son because he has learned nothing but the language of birds, and on interpreting what a certain bird sings, seems to be disrespectful to his father.[2] Sometimes animals reveal their languages out of gratitude to some one who has befriended them, as in the Pawnee tales referred to, and in Hungarian, Finnish, Servian, Norse, German, Celtic, and Arab versions of a well-known cycle, in which the king of the snakes' daughter reveals it, and the hero subsequently is tormented by his wife to know why he is laughing, viz., at what the animals are saying.[3] This unknown tongue is also referred to in many Eastern tales, Hindu, Kashmir, Mongol, etc., and is usually learned by some one who subsequently benefits by the acquired knowledge.[4] Granted the belief that animals have such a language, the corollary is inevitable that some one has picked it up in various ways. Hence, stories

[1] Theal, p. 165. Busk, *Sagas*, p. 165. Grinnell, *passim*.

[2] Webster, p. 136. Coelho, p. 133. Luzel, *Leg. Chrét.*, i. 307. Leger, *Cont. Pop. Slaves*, p. 235. Wright's edition of *Seven Sages*, p. 106. *Cf.* Hartland, "The Outcast Child," in *F.L.J.*, iv. 334.

[3] Grinnell, *op. cit.* Jones, p. 301. Mijatovich, p. 36. Dasent, p. 4. Grimm, ii. 541. Campbell, iii. 353. Payne, *Arab. Nights*, i. 14.

[4] Day, p. 150. Knowles, p. 432. *F.L.J.*, iii. 323.

about it would arise. But a further development of the acquirement, not only of animal language, but of animal wisdom, suggests another cause, viz., that firm belief found among all savages that by eating part of another person or part of an animal, you acquire his qualities—wisdom, bravery, strength, or what not. This common practice, based upon the evident strength which comes from eating, naturally suggested that if animals, or certain of them, had superior and recondite wisdom, it would become the property of any person who should eat the animal in question. This is best illustrated by the cycle of tales in which different parts of a bird are eaten by two brothers, as a result of which one of them becomes a king, and the other finds gold and jewels under his pillow every morning.[1] But in many lands it is by eating a snake that wisdom or the language of animals is acquired, and, as a rule, it is some particular snake. Thus with Arabs and Swahilis it is the king of the snakes; among Swedish, Danish, German, Celtic, Breton, and Slavonic tales it is a white snake, or sometimes a fabulous snake with a crown on its head, resembling the jewelled headed serpent of Eastern lore. So in the Volsunga Saga, Sigurd acquired the language of animals by eating the flesh of the dragon Fafnir. In Celtic belief the salmon was credited with extraordinary wisdom, or at least those salmon which ate the nuts that fell from the mystic hazels round Connla's well. If anyone caught and ate such a fish, there was no end to his wisdom.[2]

[1] These are—Breton (Sebillot, p. 97); Russian (Ralston, No. 53); German, (Grimm, p. 193); Greek (Hahn, i. 227); Egyptian (Spitta Bey, No. 9); Berber (Bassett, p. 75); Tibetan (*Tib. Tales*, p. 129); Kashmir (Knowles, p. 169); Indian (Steele and Temple, pp. 139, 326); and other versions. *Cf.* p. 462, for a Red Indian variant.

[2] Steere, p. 333. Thorpe, *N.M.*, i. 97; ii. 98, 217. Campbell, ii. 361; iii. 331. Guest, *Mabinogion*, p. 471. Sebillot, ii. 224. Wratislaw, p. 25. O'Curry, *Manners of Anct. Irish*, ii. 143.

These folk-tale beliefs originated in the manner I have suggested, aided, perhaps, by the idea that by eating a totem-animal on certain solemn occasions one acquires all its nature and attributes. A further example occurs in Aino belief. By eating the heart of the water-ousel they think they will be able to stand fatigue, wax eloquent, and obtain riches, because the water-ousel is wise and eloquent. It is a simple transfer of qualities by eating.[1]

Several stories contain the touching incident of the mother who returns from the grave, or from fairyland, or who comes in her transformed shape after being bewitched by the false wife, to suckle her child. It is the incident expressed with such extraordinary directness and a pathos which is almost brutal, in the Yorkshire ballad quoted by Emily Brontë—

> "'Twas late at night, and the bairns grat,
> The mother among the mools heard that."

This ballad version is the simplest form of the story of which I shall first cite a Russian variant. A peasant's wife died at childbirth. It was observed that the child cried all day, but was silent at night. The nurse watched, and at midnight heard the door open and saw some one go towards the cradle, when the child lay still as if it were being nursed. Next night the father himself watched with a hidden light, suddenly uncovering it when the visitor came in. She proved to be his dead wife, who bent over the cradle and suckled the child. After a time she went away silently as she had come, but the child was

Classical students will recall the story of Melampus, who, having saved two serpents, was taught the language of animals by their licking his ear.

[1] *Cf.* the stories where, by eating a fish, a woman bears one or more sons. See p. 381 *infra.*

found to be dead.[1] There are some Irish stories resembling this Russian tale. In one a woman had gone to America, leaving her boy with her brother, who ill-treated him. She died, and at the moment of her death appeared to a woman in Ireland, telling her about the boy, and afterwards went to the boy himself and comforted him as only a mother could. Soon after a letter arrived, announcing her death. Another Irish story describes how a mother's ghost "walked" until her children were removed from the workhouse by her lazy husband, a black swelling appearing on the percipient's wrist where the ghost had touched it, as a proof of her reality.[2] Reference may also be made here to a Polynesian tale, cited later, in which a dead woman escapes from Hades to attend to her helpless child at home.[3]

These tales have some connection with another group, of which there are many Gaelic versions. A woman apparently died and was buried; in reality she had been carried off by the fairies, who left an illusory

[1] For a further discussion of this cycle, see chap. vi., pp. 150-53. Ralston, p. 19.

[2] Curtin, p. 144. Yeats, *Celtic Twilight*, p. 37. The first of these Irish stories is an excellent folk-tale instance of a phantasm coincidental with death. *Cf.* an instance on p. 168, of a death communicated by a dream to two people at the same moment. When such phantasms are so abundant in actual life, as we see from the Psychical Research Society's *Proceedings*, Gurney's *Phantasms of the Living*, and Myers' *Human Personality*, it is not surprising that they occur in folk-tales, which usually are a faithful reflection of life, custom, and belief. In another Irish tale a man called Connor borrowed threepence from another man who fell ill. One day Connor saw him coming along the road, and was pulling the money from his pocket to return it, when the man disappeared. He then met two other men who informed him that the man had just died. Curtin, *Tales of Irish Fairies*. Ghosts in folk-tales are less common than might have been expected. Even in Africa, where their power is so much believed in, there are few folk-tales referring to them. *Cf.* a Basuto story in Jacottet, p. 237, where a ghost makes a girl's water-jug stick fast to the ground.

[3] See p. 178.

form of a corpse in her place, in accordance with the usual fairy practice in Celtic (Irish and Highland) belief in such cases of stealing away a human being. Sometimes the woman appears to her husband in sleep, telling him how he may recover her; but in one tale she is seen at night singing to her child. Her husband sprang up and caught her, but she told him he must go to the fairy hillock and remove her bodily from it. By using iron and a black cock, both detested by fairies, he effected an entrance to fairyland and carried the woman away. Scott, in his *Minstrelsy*, cites a similar Lowland story. In this tale a woman had been carried off to fairyland, and a disfigured corpse left in her place. The husband was about to marry again, but the first wife appeared to him several times, and at last, when he paid no attention to her, upbraided him, and, to prove that she was no impostor, proceeded to suckle her child. The man was terrified, and went to his minister, who, unlike the Reverend Mr Kirk of Aberfoyle, the author of the *Secret Commonwealth of the Elves*, had no faith in fairies, and married the couple at once to prevent further disturbance. The wife never appeared again. But had the husband followed her advice, viz., to dig up the corpse, to seize it as it tried to flee away, and to hold it in spite of all its transformations, he would have recovered this Eurydice of fairyland. There is, in these two groups of stories, as well as in many others with which we are not concerned at present, little distinction between ghostland and fairyland; the same laws govern both, the same tabus (*e.g.*, not to eat food offered by ghost or fairy) are effective in both, and from both the dead may be recovered, or may come to warn and advise the living.[1]

[1] Campbell, *Superstitions*, pp. 83-88. Scott, *Minstrelsy*, ii. 222. I have referred on p. 438 to Descents to the Underworld. They occur in every mythology, savage and civilised, and are the expression of man's firm belief that Death may be vanquished and the dead

In the third group of stories in the True Bride cycle (already referred to), a similar incident occurs with great dramatic force, and though it does not concern the return of the dead, may be mentioned here. The wife, transformed by witchcraft into an animal, appears by night in the house, saying that she will come three times and watch her child. The husband catches her on the third visit, when a whole series of transformations follow, as in the Lowland fairy story; he still holds her firmly in spite of all, and at last her true form is restored to her. There are Russian, Swedish, and Finnish variants, with transformation to a goose, duck, and reindeer respectively. In other versions, which must represent the more primitive form of the tale, there is no primary transformation. Thus, a Polish variant makes the mother return after she has been killed by the witch stepmother; then follows the capture and the series of transformations. All these are omitted in a Jaina version, where the wife (like the Albanian heroine) is

restored. Sometimes the descent is made to rescue the victim of death, sometimes to wrest a secret from the rulers or people of the sad kingdom. Later, these myths became folk-tales, and the gods of the underworld were changed into heroes, like Prince Hatt under the Earth in the Swedish tale (p. 326). The underworld of the ghosts then became (1) Fairyland, with the result that in some fairy-tales there is little difference between ghosts and fairies, while the descent is made either to rescue some stolen person or to capture some treasure of fairyland (*e.g.*, a fairy cup, like the Luck of Edenhall); (2) a Land below the earth; sometimes its lord steals women, who are rescued by the hero (p. 351), or demands a wife from some mortal (as in some tales of the Bluebeard cycle); in other tales it is a beautiful land, entrance to which is made through a well (see p. 191). Mythology had also spoken of a land below the sea, with its divinities. This became in folk-tale the land of the Water-king, Sea-troll, or Sea-maiden, inveigling mortals beneath the wave. *Cf.* the tales cited on pp. 417-18, 420. Descents to the underworld of Christian dogma were common in early and mediæval Christian literature. These, while suggested by the doctrine of our Lord's Descent into Hell, borrowed many details from myth and folk-tale. See T. Wright, *St Patrick's Purgatory;* Tylor, *P.C.*, ii. 54 *seq.*

thrown into a well. A serpent takes care of her and allows her to return and see her child, but always to come back before dawn—a true ghost tabu. The fourth time, her husband catches and detains her; a dead snake drops from her head, and she knows she has killed her protector by overstaying her time.[1]

The same incident occurs in stories in which the fairy wife leaves her husband when he breaks a tabu. Melusina left Count Raymond when he discovered her serpent form, but for long after she was seen to return at night and stay till dawn, clasping her little children to her breast. Other instances will be found in a later chapter; meanwhile, I cite a Kafir story which bears some resemblance to this group. A man had a wife who was miraculously born, and was never to appear in the daytime. Her father-in-law sent her to fetch water, with the result that she was detained by the water-spirit. Her voice was heard telling what had happened, and at night her child was taken down to the river bank by the nurse. The mother came out and suckled the child, forbidding the nurse to tell what she had seen. At last all was found out; the husband drew his wife home; the river followed and recaptured her. She was only finally recovered by her parents sacrificing an ox to the river, in accordance with her own directions.[2]

As final examples, we must note stories of the Cinderella cycle, in which the dead mother, as an animal or tree, or from her grave, assists her ill-used

[1] Ralston, p. 183. Thorpe, *Y.T.S.*, p. 35. Cox, p. 41. There are German, Italian, Bohemian, Magyar, and Danish versions. The Polish story is analysed by Miss Cox, p. 94. Tawney, *Kathakoça*, p. 85.

[2] Baring-Gould, p. 478. See p. 329 *infra*. Theal, p. 54. There is a Basuto variant, in which the husband insists on the wife's fetching him water in the daytime, as here; she is, however, changed into an ant-heap, but afterwards recovers her true form by the help of the sorcerer who gave her mother the miraculous drug. Jacottet, p. 206.

child, and others of the Youngest Son group, where the dead father causes prosperity to his faithful son.[1]

While these stories show how the folk of various lands, civilised and savage, have given literary form to the fact of undying maternal love, illustrated in the Eskimo belief that the dead mother calls for her children from the spirit land,[2] it is not improbable that the presentation of the fact may be due to actual phantasmal appearances of a dead mother in her old home. Gurney, in his *Phantasms of the Living*, cites three well-authenticated instances from the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries respectively.[3] In all of these a mother dies at a distance, expressing a desire to see her children, and at the time of her death her phantasm is seen by them and others. Granting the reality of such appearances, which there seems no reason to doubt, it is easy to refer the exaggerated form of the tale—suckling the child, recovery of the wife from the dead—to similar actual phantasmal appearances in the remote past. At all events, we know that it is a strongly held article of the savage creed that the dead return, and one or two such appearances would readily give rise to stories of this type.

The "Swallow" story occurs in several distinct cycles. First may be mentioned the Tom Thumb group, in which the hero, swallowed by a cow, fish, and giant, is disgorged in safety.[4] Next we note some versions of Red Riding-Hood, with the heroine and her grandmother swallowed by the wolf, and

[1] See pp. 232, 367 *infra*.

[2] Letourneau, *Sociology*, p. 147. Sometimes the child, or simply the strap with which he was carried, is buried with her.

[3] Gurney, ii. 558, 560, 581. Another curious case is given by Miss Cox, p. 479.

[4] Hartland, *English Folk and Fairy Tales*, p. 272. Deulin, *Contes*, p. 326. Cosquin, ii. 190. Grimm, "Thumbling."

afterwards brought to life when the wolf is killed.[1] The third group is that in which some animal, the fox or the wolf, swallows several others, *e.g.*, a goat's kids or goslings. In some versions the mother cuts his stomach open when he is asleep, and takes out her children, filling it with stones and sewing it up again. On waking he feels thirsty, and goes to a fountain to drink, but the weight of the stones makes him lose his balance and he is drowned. But occasionally the swallower is killed before the animals emerge, and they, like MacLeod's piper, "return no more."[2] With this group may be included a Hottentot story. An elephant (in a variant, a giraffe), swallowed a tortoise, which ate his liver, heart, and kidneys, so that he died, after which the tortoise emerged safe and sound. This resembles an Australian story, in which the moon swallowed the eagle, but the wives of the latter cut the moon's stomach open with a stone axe when he was stooping to drink, and rescued their husband.[3] The final incident of a Basuto tale is curious. A man had carried his daughter to a cannibal chief, hoping that he would eat her, but he was put into the pot himself, and the chief's son married the daughter. As they and their company were travelling, they came to a rock which blocked the way. It was the heart of the man, thus transformed, and it swallowed everything and every person passing that way. When the daughter and her husband had been gulped down, they found themselves in a huge cavern with many other people. A boy was making a hole

[1] Grimm, "Red Cap." *Cf.* a Russian story, in which a Baba Yaga swallows two brothers, but is forced to disgorge them by the third brother. Ralston, p. 72.

[2] Campbell, iii. 103. Grimm, "Wolf and Goats." Gubernatis *Z.M.*, i. 407. Crane, p. 267.

[3] Bleek, p. 29. Brough Smyth, *Abor. of Victoria*, i. 432. There is a Berber story, in which one Islamite saint amuses himself by swallowing and then disgorging another. Basset, p. 32.

in the side with his knife, and when he had cut his way through, the rock fell to the ground, and all who had been swallowed escaped, except those who had been suffocated.[1] There is a close resemblance between these stories and those of the next group as represented by a Bohemian story. The gluttonous child of a peasant (formed by him out of a root with his axe), began to devour her parents, the villagers, and animals, until a woman killed her with a mattock, when all whom she had swallowed came forth in reverse order. So a *djalmous*, escaping with a girl, in a Tartar story, swallowed sixty camels, forty men, and forty girls, who were disgorged when the khan killed the monster. Baiamee, in an Australian myth, delivered his wives from the alligators which had swallowed them, and restored them to life by laying them on ants' nests. A story very like the Bohemian glutton tale is current among Kafirs and Yaos; in a variant the glutton is a cannibal mother, who eats her children and several people of the village in which they live. A bird attacked her, and tore open her stomach. Many of her victims were dead; the others who were alive came forth, but some of them were caught and swallowed again.[2] Mr Lang has shown the similarity of such stories to the Greek myth of Cronus, who swallowed his own children, till Zeus caused him to disgorge the stone given him in place of himself, after which the children came forth also.[3]

[1] Jacottet, p. 202. *Cf.* Callaway, pp. 55, 181. There are many such stories in S. African folk-lore.

[2] Naake, p. 226. Radloff, iii. 315. Parker, p. 11. Steere, *J.A.I.*, i. 141; Theal, p. 129. *Cf.* the chapters on the Dragon Sacrifice, and on Cannibalism, for other instances of the hero hacking his way through the monster's stomach. It occurs in another form in the story of Assiepattle and the Stoor Worm. He allowed his boat to glide down the dragon's huge throat, and then put a burning peat in its liver, escaping as quickly as he could; see p. 402 *infra*. *Cf.* the Fish-swallowing stories cited in the next group.

[3] Lang, *Custom and Myth*, p. 53. Hesiod, *Theogony*, 497.

This resembles a very involved Bushman myth, in which the planet Jupiter, called "Dawn's Heart," swallows another star, his daughter, disgorging her when she is grown up.

In another group, resembling the story of Jonah and the fish, a fish swallows the hero, who afterwards escapes. Of this there are Hindu, Malay, Samoan, Guiana, and Red Indian versions—all remarkably alike.[1] Dr Tylor, following Schirren, has suggested that the Polynesian story of Maui may supply the clue to the origin of this and all the other groups of "swallow" stories. When Maui was born, his mother threw him into the sea, where he became covered with seaweed and jelly-fish. Cast ashore, he was relieved of these excrescences by his grandfather, who carried him home. Now, Maui is the sun, and the earth (including the sea) is a fish in Polynesian mythology, and it is thought that this story may be a distorted version of a myth telling how the sky frees the sun from the covering earth. If so, the distortion is somewhat pronounced. But the supposition gains force from another Maui story, which tells how he met his death by entering his grandmother's body. She dwells on the horizon where earth meets the sky. But some hold that Maui died only to revive and recommence his career.[2] All this explains itself as a story told to show why the sun, conceived of as a man, disappears as if swallowed at the horizon. We might explain the other fish stories by the theory that men who saw the setting sun disappear in the sea, might think it had been swallowed by the sea or by a fish. That, at least, is no exaggeration of savage and primitive methods of thought. In this way the Piute myth of the sun swallowing the stars would

[1] Somadeva, ii. 118. *Vishnu Purana*, p. 575. Turner, pp. 331, 337. Im Thurn, p. 385. Petitot, p. 319. A Melanesian version will be found on p. 436 *infra*.

[2] Tylor, *Early Hist. of Mankind*. Grey, pp. 18, 31, 35.

resolve itself into an explanation of how they disappear at sunrise. So in a Melanesian myth Qat cuts the Dawn with a knife out of Night.[1] All things are conceived by primitive races as actually alive and capable of human actions. Man's feverish desire to know the causes of things makes him invent the most plausible stories to account for them, but these stories presuppose this animistic theory. Hence many "swallow" myths resolve themselves into stories accounting for various natural phenomena. As things were better understood the myths might remain, but would now be told of a man and a fish, or of a glutton. Or the old myths might supply the *motif* to an inventive story-teller, which would explain the origin of the Tom Thumb, Red Riding-Hood, and other folk-tale groups. But all alike would owe their origin to early myth, to savage methods of thought. This, however, is a different thing from explaining all folk-tales as the detritus of myth, and as the result of a "disease of language." It is only one of the many ways in which folk-tales have arisen.

In the chapters which follow we shall discuss at greater length various folk-tale conceptions, as arranged in the following scheme:—(1) Incidents exhibiting primitive psychology — The Water of Life, The Renewal of Life, The Separable Soul; (2) Incidents illustrating magical, animistic, and totemistic beliefs—Transformation, Inanimate Objects Speaking and Acting, Helpful Animals, Beast-Marriages; (3) Incidents illustrating primitive customs—Cannibalism, Tabu, Inheritance (the Youngest Son), Sacrifice (the Dragon Sacrifice and the Promised Child); (4) Incidents involving mythological explanations of things —Jack and the Beanstalk.

[1] Codrington, p. 162.

CHAPTER III

THE WATER OF LIFE

If death was the king of terrors to early man, none the less he seems to have believed that it was possible to overcome it. Myth told of a time when it was not; ritual ceremonies represented the dead coming to life again; the soul, it was believed, could be recalled to the body by the power of the medicine-man. This belief has given birth to three distinct ideas, which are enshrined in many folk-tales, those of the Water of Life, of the Dismembered coming to life again, of the External or Separable Soul. Folk-tales containing these incidents are of the most varied kind, and are found current in all parts of the world, thus testifying at once to man's hatred of death, and his desire for life's renewal when it had come to an end. In this and the two following chapters I shall treat each of these incidents separately, and try to throw some light upon their origin.

The ramifications of the idea that a certain mystic water can resuscitate or restore are many, and I can only attempt to indicate the chief of them. A certain number of stories may be cited first, to show the general idea at work. In several Russian tales two heroes are maimed by an enchantress. One has his feet cut off, the other his eyes put out. They live alone, helping each other. At last they obtain two waters, from a snake, or from a Baba Yaga (a kind of

snake-demon). The first water restores feet and eyes, but the heroes can neither walk nor see until the second, the Water of Life, is applied.[1] The eldest of three brothers in a Lithuanian story kills a nine-headed dragon, and rescues a princess, whose servants, put him to death. A lion catches a crow, and forces it to bring the Water of Life, by which his master is revived.[2] Geria, a Mingrelian hero, having won a fair maiden, is attacked by the soldiers of the Black King and finally slain. His parents having seen two snakes pass through a river and crawl over several dead snakes which then came to life, take some of the water of the river with them. Having been led to Geria's body by his dog, they sprinkle it with the water, and he rises whole and sound.[3] A Swedish story has some features in common with this. Silver-white has married a princess after rescuing her from three trolls. He is challenged to mortal combat by their brother, who first treacherously kills the hero's dogs by magic, and then overcomes their master. Little Warder, his foster-brother, forces the troll to give him two phials. With the contents of the first he revives his brother. The fluid in the second, being poured on the ground, petrifies anyone treading on it, and this fate is meted out to the troll.[4] The heroine of a Greek story restores to life the devil's former wives by means of his Water of Life, after she has found them petrified in the forbidden chamber; while a prince who has met the same fate at the hands of a Sicilian Blue-beard, comes alive again by means of restorative ointment, applied by the youngest of three sisters.[5] The Italian variant of this Bluebeard tale makes the heroine restore the prince, and then kill the pursuing ogre by means of the "medicine that slays," stolen

[1] Ralston, pp. 240, 253, 255. [2] Leskien, p. 389.
[3] Wardrop, p. 118. Cavallius, p. 78.
[5] Schmidt, p. 122; Gonzenbach, No. 23.

from the forbidden chamber.[1] Such healing water is common to all European folk-tales, but in no group is it so variously and poetically described as in the Celtic. There it is called the Well of the World, the Water of the Well of Virtues, a Well of True Water, a Reviving Cordial, a Vessel of Cordial, Balsam, or simply Living Water. In "The Rider of Grianaig" the carlin tells Iain that in order to take the spells off the men whom she had petrified, he must go to the island of big women, and take a bottle of living water out of it, "and when thou rubbest it upon them, the spells will go, and they will come alive."[2]

Two brothers, Moonshine and Sunshine, were travelling together, says a Mongol story, when the former died of exhaustion. Sunshine sought out a hermit, who took a bottle containing a life-restoring cordial, and going to the spot where Moonshine was buried, restored him to life by its means. In another Mongol tale the corpse is made to drink the potion, and is thus revived.[3] These stories are derived from Indian sources, where, however, life is usually restored by means of a plant or fruit, or by a magic rod, or by some potion known only to the gods. Thus a divine princess will marry none but him who will plunge himself as a sacrifice into boiling oil. King Vikramaditya does so, and is killed, but the princess asperges him with *amrita*, and he revives, more beautiful than before.[4]

Most of the stories cited make use of the Water of Life only incidentally, but in certain other groups, in which the tales are clearly related as variants, it plays a more important part. The first of these may be

[1] *Archivio*, iii. 368.

[2] Campbell, iii. 22. *Cf.* i. 222; ii. 141, 289; iii. 22; Hyde, p. 41; M'Innes, p. 197. For the Weary Well at the World's End (the Well of True Water), see p. 256.

[3] Miss Busk, pp. 75, 110.

[4] *Indische Studien*, xv. 364.

called the Perseus group. The hero having overcome the dragon or ogre, and married the maiden, is overpowered by a witch, slain, or petrified, and then revived by his brother or some other hero. Stories of this type will be cited in a later chapter[1]; I shall confine myself here to Greek, Russian, and Breton variants. The Greek hero having opened a door in the palace where the maiden had been imprisoned, steps into a plain crowded with statues. An old woman meets him, and turns him into stone by means of a magic wand. His brother comes to rescue him with his dog. The dog tears the witch to pieces, and his master finds a bottle of the Water of Immortality among her possessions. With this he sprinkles the stony form of his brother as well as the statues in the plain. All are brought back to life, and he becomes their king.[2] In the Italian variant the second brother is petrified, as well as the original hero — the witch using an enchanted berry for the purpose. The youngest brother sets out to seek them, taking with him their life-token, viz., the blood of a fish which their mother had eaten before their conception. He rubs the two brothers with this blood, which takes the place of the water of life in no other story known to me, and brings them back to life.[3] The hero of the Russian version is killed by a gipsy, who then claims to have saved the maiden. His faithful animals bring him back to life by means of the Water of Healing. His marriage with the maiden follows, but soon after he is attracted to the house of a Baba Yaga, who turns him and his animals into stone. His brother is warned by the life-token that something is wrong. Off he goes to seek him, is taken by the princess for her husband, but takes the usual precaution of placing a sword between them on the three nights which he passes with her. Then he forces the Baba to give him

[1] See chapter xiii. [2] Legrand, p. 161. [3] Visentini, p. 104.

Water of Life to revive his brother and his animals. But the latter, jealous that his rescuer should have slept with his wife, cuts off his head, fearing the worst. Next morning he restores him with the useful water when he finds out that no harm has been done.[1] Lastly, in the Breton variant, the hero is cut to pieces by the witch, whom his twin-brother slays. Thereupon, a princess whom she has transformed into a vixen, recovers her shape, and she and the young man collect the pieces of the hero's body, pour the Water of Life over them, and so bring him back to life.[2]

In other groups of stories a quest for the Water of Life is the main incident of the tales, but the purpose of this quest varies. In the first three groups it is to cause the destruction of the seeker, through the difficulties involved in the search. These may be called respectively the Impostor, the Traitress, and the Dancing-Water types. In the fourth group, which belongs to a type fully dealt with in the chapter on the Youngest Son, the water is sought in order to give life, youth, or sight, to an old king.

Before passing to discuss these types, a Greek story from Cyprus, which falls under none of them, may be cited as showing the danger of the quest. Phiaka is told by the king of the Drakos, anxious to obtain his wife, to bring him a bottle of the Water of Life, which is away in the farthest East, between two mountains which open and shut continually, and guarded by a Drako. The king thinks that Phiaka will never return, but he, assisted by two comrades, obtains the water, and brings it in time to revive his ten brothers-in-law, slain in defending his castle and his wife against the king.[3]

In the Impostor cycle of tales[4] the godson of a

[1] Leskien, 544. This is a typical form of the story, for the many variants of which, see *infra*, p. 382.

[2] Luzel, p. 63. [3] Garnett, ii. 67. [4] See pp. 6, 213 *infra*.

king goes to seek his godfather, and is met by a man who forces him to vow that he will not reveal that he is the king's godson *until three days after his death.* The impostor then personates the real Simon Pure, and induces the king to impose certain tasks upon the hero. One of these is to discover the king's daughter, held prisoner by a queen with silver feet. This queen also sets him several tasks before she will yield the princess, one being to seek for the Water of Life and the Water of Death. The hero's friendly animals include the general of the crows, who bids two of them lead the hero to the subterranean place where the waters are kept. With these he returns to the palace, and having rescued the princess, throws the Water of Death in the queen's face and kills her. Having returned with the princess, she shows a marked preference for him instead of the impostor bridegroom, who kills him. The body is discovered three days after, when the princess, producing the phial of Water of Life, throws it over the hero, who revives at once. Absolved now from his vow, he tells the whole story, and the impostor is put to death. This is the form of the story as it is told in Lorraine, with great wealth of detail, and not a little artistic skill.[1] It is obvious that the inventor of the tale cleverly used the Water of Life incident as that upon which the plot of the story hinged. This, like many another story cycle yet to be considered, proves that the primitive novelist was by no means destitute of literary craft and imaginative power.

There are Greek, Breton, Servian, and Albanian variants of this tale, while in a Pisan version the hero is journeying to the court of his uncle, the king of Portugal. The impostor causes him to be sent to seek the queen, Granadoro, who has disappeared. The last task imposed on him by his aunt is to bring

[1] Cosquin, i. 32.

the Water of Life from the summit of an inaccessible mountain. A friendly bird assists him, and in the sequel the queen restores him to life after his murder by the pretended nephew.[1]

In these stories the destruction of the hero is not so markedly aimed at in his quest for the water as it is in the next two cycles. The princess puts off the time of her return as much through female coquetry, perhaps, as from any desire to hurt the hero. But the next series has a more sinister object. Taking the Traitress cycle first,[2] we find a woman, who is sister, mother, or wife of the hero, leagued with some monster, and seeking to get rid of him. In the Italian version a queen, unfaithful to her husband, is put in prison, where she gives birth to a son who rescues her from confinement. While escaping they encounter several cyclops, all but one of whom the lad kills. This one persuades the mother to compass her son's destruction by sending him for the water of a certain fountain. He succeeds, but on his return is cut to pieces by the cyclops. Later, he is restored by means of the water by a princess, whom he marries, after killing the cyclops and his mother.[3] A Norse hero has two lions which help him in his troubles. His mother has leagued with a troll against him, and puts out his eyes. He wanders off with the lions, who see a blind hare pass through a river and recover its sight. They lead him to the river, where the same miracle is wrought on him.[4] In this story there is no quest, but another usual type of the Water of Life incident is resorted to. We return to the quest in a Russian story, where the hero's sister, at the instigation of her demon lover, sends him to get Healing and Vivifying

[1] *Greek*, Hahn, No. 37, the hero is the king's own son; *Breton*, Luzel, No. 10; *Servian*, Jagitch, No. 1; *Albanian*, Dozon, No. 12; *Pisan*, Comparetti, No. 5.

[2] See p. 246, note 1. [3] Crane, p. 53. [4] Dasent, p. 167.

Water from two mountains which fly apart for three minutes each day. Amidst tempest and thunder the hero spurs his steed into the cleft, fills two flasks with the water, and rushes back. The hind legs of his horse are caught by the clanging rocks, but healed by the opportune waters.[1] Among the Kabyles the wife is the traitress. A huntsman, having killed seven ogres, remains in their palace. One is not really dead, and makes love to the wife, who is induced to send her husband for the Water of Life and the Apple of Youth. On his return she kills him and sets his body on a horse. A friend, to whom he has intrusted the water, revives him and then slays the guilty pair.[2] A negro and the hero's sister send him for the Water and Grapes of Paradise in an Arab tale from Egypt, while in another, Mohammed's mother is the traitress. In both stories a princess restores the murdered hero with the precious fluid.[3]

The Dancing-Water cycle is best illustrated by a Basque story. Three children born to a king's wife are exposed by her jealous elder sisters, who pretend that she has given birth to puppies. The two boys and their little sister are brought up by a gardener. One day an old woman meets them and tells them they can never be happy till they find "the tree which sings, the bird which tells the truth, and the water which makes young again." The brothers go off to seek these, but, disobeying their instructions, are turned to stone. Their sister sets out to seek them, and on the top of a mountain finds the water and fills her bottle with it. A tree breaks into song,

[1] Afanasief, vi. 249; Ralston, p. 235. In a Polynesian myth, rocks open at the chanting of a spell and admit to the land of the shades. Clarke, p. 35. Such rocks occur in S. African tales. *Cf.* p. 268. *Cf.* also the clashing rocks in the *Argonautica*, book ii., through which the Argo passes safely and breaks their power for ever.

[2] Basset, p. 222.

[3] Spitta Bey, No. 10; Dulac, No. 4. In a variant animals restore the hero to life.

and a bird, flying to her shoulder, tells her several strange things. On two stones near by she pours a drop of the water. They turn into her brothers, and all go off with their treasures. In the sequel the children are recovered by their parents, and the sisters are burnt alive.[1] In the Italian variant it is the wicked sisters-in-law who send the nurse to tell the children of the treasures. The girl dips a feather into a jar of the water and anoints the statues with it, when they come alive.[2] This story is told with exquisite grace in the *Arabian Nights*, where the treasures are the Speaking Tree, Singing Bird, and Inexhaustible Dancing-Water. Having obtained these, the girl forces the bird to tell her how to restore her brothers, who had broken the usual tabu. He directs her to a pitcher of water which she must pour over all the statues in the place, and having done so, her brothers and an illustrious company at once spring into life.[3] As told in Kashmir, the first and second brothers fail in getting the bird which speaks for their sister. The youngest brother succeeds, and it is he who obtains the golden water which releases his brothers and other petrified seekers.[4]

This story is told in every European country, in Sicily, Lorraine, Tyrol, Brittany, Russia, Germany, and in Greece; but in some cases, as in the variant from Lorraine, the girl, who has been turned into a pillar of salt, is not restored by the Water of Life but by the magic bird pecking her head, while in an Arab version the brother resumes his shape only when his sister compels the beautiful Jesensulchar to come out of her cave.[5] But it is far from unlikely that

[1] Webster, p. 176.
[2] Crane, p. 17.
[3] Scott, iv. 135.
[4] Knowles, p. 397.
[5] *Sicily*, Pitré, No. 36; *Lorraine*, Cosquin, i. 186; *Tyrol*, Schneller, No. 26; *Brittany*, *Mélusine*, 1877, col. 206; *Russia*, Gubernatis, *Z.M.*, ii. 174; *Germany*, Wolf, p. 168; *Greece*, Hahn, No. 69.

restoration by means of the mystic water was the primitive form of the story.

In the next cycle the quest has a good end in view, though the hero is still subjected to trial through the jealousy of his brothers or brothers-in-law. Where three brothers are concerned, the main points of the story are these. A king, becoming blind or turning old, sends his elder sons to seek the Water of Life. They refuse help to some man or animal at the outset, are in consequence enchanted (as in the German version), or go on and waste their substance in riotous living. Meanwhile the despised youngest son, who is sometimes a hunchback or a fool, obtains a reluctant permission to go on the quest. He is civil to the man or animal, and thus obtains help and guidance, finds the water, and usually rescues a princess imprisoned in the castle where it is kept. On their way home his ungrateful brothers get rid of him, and go off with the water and the princess. In some cases the water will not cure until the hero, who has been rescued, arrives at the palace and exposes the treachery of his brothers, who are punished. In a few variants the princess is left behind, and some time after has a child. She sets out to find the father, and arrives in time to rescue him. This occurs in the Celtic version, while in the Hungarian variant the princess is a fairy, and sends to seek the father. The elder brothers claim paternity, and have to submit to the test of jumping into a cauldron of boiling oil. They shrivel up to the size of a crab-apple. The youngest brother, whom his father, through the magic change, has forgotten, and who has become the swineherd, emerges safe and sound, and is duly married to the fairy.

With more or less modification of detail (sometimes it is a marvellous bird which is sought for) the story is found all over Europe.[1] In a literary form it

[1] The variants known to me are these:—*Celtic*, Campbell, i. 168; *Irish*, Kennedy, ii. 47; *Norse*, Asbjoernsen, 364; *Swedish*,

is the basis of the Persian romance of the *Rose of Bakawali*, where a king, at sight of his fifth son, is struck with blindness. The four elder sons set out for the rose which alone can restore his sight, lose all their possessions, and are branded as slaves. The fifth brother wins back these possessions and finds the rose, which his brothers steal from him. The king recovers his sight, but the treachery of the brothers is discovered through the brand on their backs, and the hero's claim being acknowledged, he marries the peerless beauty from whom he had stolen the rose.[1]

In another group of tales, which are probably based upon what seems to me the earlier cycle, we have to deal with three brothers-in-law. Fidel, say the Basques, married a king's daughter. The king, becoming old and blind, is told of a water which makes young and another which restores sight. Two sons-in-law set out to seek them, but soon tire of the quest. Fidel obtains the precious waters from an old woman, and, following her advice, sells them to the brothers-in-law for two golden apples. They, of course, get the credit of obtaining them; but the despised Fidel in the end gets his due as well as the crown, while they are banished to a desert place.[2] In the Greek variant the youngest princess has married a prince disguised as the gardener. He obtains the Water of Life, and pretends to give it to his haughty brothers-in-law, provided they let him mark their backs with his horse's shoe. What he really gives is

Cavallius, No. 9; *Lorraine*, Cosquin, i. 208; *German*, Grimm, No. 57; *Bohemian*, Chodzko, 285; *Wallachian*, Schott, No. 26; *Russian*, Ralston, 286; *Transylvanian*, Haltrich, No. 7; *Hungarian*, Jones, p. 288; *Austrian*, Vernaleken, Nos. 52 and 53; *Polish*, Toeppen, p. 154; *Sicilian*, Gonzenbach, No. 64; *Lithuanian*, Schleicher, p. 26; *Tyrolese*, Zingerle, ii. 225.

[1] Clouston, *Eastern Romances*, p. 237 *seq.*

[2] Webster, p. 111.

a bottle of ordinary water, so that their boasting is all in vain, and the despised gardener, having wrought the cure, becomes the king's heir.[1] Other fluids than water are found in several variants of this brother-in-law cycle. In a Roumanian version the quest is for milk of red wild goats; in two Tyrolese tales, for dragon's blood and the milk of a tigress; the water of the queen of Hungary occurs in a Lorraine version; while Juanillo, a Spanish hero, obtains the milk of a lioness as well as the Water of Life.[2] The story is also current in Egypt, where the king falls ill when his daughter marries the gardener's boy. The youth finds the requisite milk of a young bear, and cedes it to the brothers-in-law on condition that they allow themselves to be branded.[3] It is obvious that such curious fluids have replaced the more primitive Water of Life, as adding to the difficulty of the quest by their uniqueness, while the same is doubtless true of the magic bird which heals.

These stories have shown us how the mystic water cures as well as restores to life. To this aspect of it we shall return later; meanwhile its power of giving immortality must be considered. This power will introduce us to some stories from savage lands. The Maoris know of this immortal water. Ina was carried off by the moon-god, and became the moon-goddess. Her husband allowed her earthly lover to come and be her servant, but in time he grew old and must leave the land of the immortals. "Death itself must never enter this fair realm. Such is the law of Marama, my husband, who each month bathes in the life-restoring lake of Tané, the great god of light. I

[1] Hahn, No. 6 (from Epirus).

[2] *Roumanian Fairy Tales*, p. 27; Schneller, No. 20; Cosquin, i. 133; *Romancero General*, No. 1264.

[3] Spitta Bey, No. 12. Many Eastern variants omit the quest, but the youngest brother-in-law performs many doughty deeds, and is only discovered to be the hero after a long time.

also have been sprinkled with the waters that make youth eternal." Sorrowfully the poor mortal lover took his way back to earth. Again, when the hero Maui descends to the shades his father sprinkles him with the living waters of Tané, that he may destroy the goddess of death; but he left out some of the incantations, and Maui was overcome at last. When Maui fought with her, he tried in vain "to make her promise that man should be like the moon, whose life is renewed each month by bathing in the waters of the lake of Tané." Here the immortal water is made use of to explain the mystery of the new moon, as in Lithuanian belief the mother of the Thunder-god daily bathes the weary Sun and sends it reinvigorated on its daily round.[1] So, too, the Mongols believe that man was meant to be immortal. A Lama created animals and birds, and sent the crow with a cupful of water, which he was to pour drop by drop on the head of all men, so that they might become immortal. The crow flew off, but soon perched on a tree and began croaking. Down fell the cup, and men remained mortal, but where the water fell three evergreen trees sprang up, which are always fresh and never die.[2] We go back in time, and find that one of the early myths of Babylonia tells how when Ea created the first man Adapa, the latter made the great divinity Anu angry, and was summoned before him. "They will offer thee food of death," said Ea, "do not eat. They will offer thee water of death, do not drink." Adapa contrived to please Anu, but having seen the secrets of heaven, he must be admitted to the circle of the gods and be made immortal. So they offered him food of life and the water of life, but he refused both, thinking them to be the food and water of death, and remained mortal, for Ea had

[1] Clarke, pp. 38, 124. Ralston, *Songs of Russian People*, p. 189.

[2] *F.L.J.*, iv. 27. Note the connection of the Crow with the Water, and see p. 78.

determined that man should never be immortal. In an Aleutian tale men did once enjoy immortality, for when age came on they plunged into a lake on a lofty mountain and came forth fresh and vigorous. But a god killed the brother of his earthly mistress, and since then all men are subject to death. In many of the higher mythologies even the gods retain their immortality only by drinking some immortal draught or eating some immortal food, which at an earlier stage may have simply been the Water of Life. The Hindu gods were made immortal by drinking *soma*, and admitted their true worshippers to this privilege. Similar qualities were ascribed to *haoma* by the Persians, while the Greeks knew of the divine nectar, the Scandinavians of Idhunn's apples of gold which the gods ate whenever they grew old, the Celts of the banquet (chiefly of beer) prepared by the god Goibniu to preserve his fellow-divinities immortal.[1]

A whole series of tales introduces us to the Fountain of Immortal Youth which men go to seek, dying often in the quest by the sad irony of things. Sometimes, as in a Hungarian tale, it is known only to the fairies. A man has grown old and shrivelled through losing his fairy wife, who has left him because he has broken the tabu which bound him to her. At last he finds her. "Surely you don't expect me to be your wife—an old, bent, shrivelled-up man like you!" But secretly she bids her attendants gather all sorts of rejuvenating plants, and bring some youth-giving waters, and prepare a bath with them. This done, they seize him and throw him into the bath, from which he emerges a hundred times handsomer than he had been in his youth.[2] The Fountain of Youth is introduced freely into many mediæval *fabliaux*, and there is little doubt that, like the elixir

[1] Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia*, p. 544. Farrer, p. 13. Thorpe, i. 34. Jubainville, *Le Cycle Myth. Irlandais*, p. 309.

[2] Jones, p. 109.

of life, it fired the imagination of many at that time. It was thought by some that fairies dipped their children in such a fountain in order *to make them free from dying flesh and* [illegible] Fletcher sings in his *Faithful Shepherdess* [illegible] east there is the Indian *vijarâ nadâ*, or ageless river, probably that referred to by Mandeville, while reference to a similar fountain occurs in early Turkish and Persian poetry. It is in a land of darkness, surrounded by a sea of darkness, or in an isle of the isles of the sea. Both Moses and Alexander the Great set out to seek it, but the quest was not for them. One of Solomon's officers, however, discovered it for him, but the merry monarch of the East would not drink it, lest he should survive his mistresses—reasoning worthy of our own Charles II. This Mohammedan fable has also influenced the Malaysian followers of the prophet, who think that the waters of the Nile confer the gift of youth on those who bathe in them. Such fountains are spoken of in Japan: one is hidden on the summit of the sacred mountain, Fuji Yama, and whoso finds and drinks it will live for ever. We have already referred to the Polynesian lake of Tané; in Africa we have "the fountain of the Ethiopians" spoken of by Herodotus long ago. Across the Atlantic, "from the tropical forests of Central America to the coral-bound Antilles, the natives told the Spaniards marvellous tales of a fountain whose magic waters would heal the sick, rejuvenate the aged, and confer an ever youthful immortality."[1] But east and west, this

[1] Clouston, p. 521. Garnett, ii. 442. Tylor, *E.H.M.*, p. 351. Alexander's slaves drank a flask of the water sent by King Ivant; they are now elves and will live for ever—Gaster, *Greeko-Slav. Lit.*, p. 99. St John, i. 41. Griffis, pp. 214, 218. Taoist priests are believed to possess an elixir of immortality—Giles, i. 17. Dorman, p. 314. Tylor, *op. cit.*, suggests that the sun going wearily down into the western sea, and returning thence fresh and young, may have given rise to the myth. *Cf.* the Polynesian myth; and Grimm, *D.M.*, p. 554.

fountain, like many another fabled treasure, is still to seek.

The power of the magic water to restore sight or limbs which have been cut off, is found in two interesting story cycles, those of the Abandoned Wife, and of Truth and Falsehood. The former may be illustrated by a story from Romagna, where a childless lady has her hands cut off by her husband because she is so charitable. Finally, when she bears him twins, his mistress persuades him she has been unfaithful, and he casts her off. "At last she came to a well, and stooped to drink. And lo! as soon as she did this her hands grew again, for it was the fountain which renews life and youth." Through the agency of a fairy she regains her husband's love, and his mistress is turned to stone.[1] In the Hungarian variant it is the girl's jealous mother who causes her hands to be cut off. She wanders to a country where she finds a lake full of magic water which restores the maimed limbs of all who bathe in it.[2] The Virgin meets the outcast wife in the Tyrolese version, and directs her to the water of life, but here as in several corresponding variants the girl's mother has first cut off her hands, then a prince has married her out of compassion. She bears him twins. The jealous queen-mother tells him she has given birth to puppies, whereupon she wanders off with her children.[3] The Kashmir version tells of seven queens blinded and thrown into a well by their husband at the instigation of an eighth queen, who is a *rakshasi*. They receive their sight with a "medicine" which one of their sons receives from the *rakshasi's* mother. This story is

[1] Leland, *E.R.R.*, p. 226. [2] Jones, p. 186.

[3] Schneller, No. 50. The variants are, *Sicilian*, Gonzenbach, No. 24; *German*, Proehle, No. 36; *Lithuanian*, Leskien, No. 46; *Breton*, Sebillot, i. 15; *Norman*, Fleury, p. 151. *Cf.* the True Bride stories (p. 23), which have some analogy in their incidents to those of this cycle.

also found in Bengal.[1] Among the Swahilis a brother cuts off a sister's right hand, and then slanders her to the prince who has married her. She is sent away, and in the course of her wanderings saves the life of a snake, who shows her a lake where, by dipping her arm into its waters, she recovers her hand.[2]

The Truth and Falsehood cycle offers perhaps as many variants as any folk-tale, and with many differences of detail seems to insist constantly on the moral lesson of the superiority of virtue in the end. The Hungarian version describes how Truth, refusing to admit that Falsehood is better, is blinded and left helpless by the latter, but lying near the gallows she hears two devils talking. One announces that he has just killed a physician, who had discovered that if cripples rolled about, and the blind washed their eyes in the dew on the night of the new moon, they would be healed. The other declares he has cut off the water-supply of the next town. Truth takes advantage of what she has heard, rubs her eye-sockets with dew, and has her sight restored. Then she goes to the town, and tells how the supply of water may be recovered. She is honoured and well paid. Meanwhile Falsehood has become very poor and goes to Truth for food. In exchange for it her eyes are put out and her arms cut off, and Truth leads her to the gallows. There the devils find her, and, supposing she is the person who listened to their conversation, tear her in pieces.[3] In several variants two companions or two brothers take the place of Truth and Falsehood, and sometimes, as in the Lorraine variant, they cast lots as to who should be blinded in order to be in a better position to beg. This one is then ill-treated by the other and abandoned.[4] Different animals, again, take the place of the demons, spirits, or genii of some

[1] Knowles, p. 49; Day, p. 123.
[2] Steere, p. 393.
[3] Jones, p. 27.
[4] Cosquin, i. 84.

stories, and in the great majority of the tales they tell how a king or a king's daughter can only be cured by the water of a spring near at hand. The listener first heals himself, then goes disguised as a physician to court, saves the royal sufferer, and is rewarded with the hand of the princess in marriage.[1]

In the East, as in Europe, this story has a wide popularity, though there something else than the Water of Life is revealed as the cure. The afreet in the story of the Well-intentioned and the Double-minded in the *Arabian Nights* tells how an infusion of wormwood sprinkled on the feet of the princess can alone rid her of his obsession.[2] The juice of a creeper which encircles a banyan tree is said by two talking birds to have magical healing powers in an Indian variant; while among the Kirghiz, animals tell how two aspens give sight and hearing, how the bones of a dog raise the dead, and of a place where a lump of gold is hid.[3] The two cycles of stories are curiously combined in a story from Kashmir. A king in misfortune has had his feet cut off by another king, and is sent off with the wife of the latter. They have a son, who one day is lost. The king then hears two birds describe how he has fallen into a well, and how, if the king jumps into this well, he will recover his feet and save his son.[4] This is an excellent example of the

[1] Variants of this story will be found as follows:—*Breton*, Luzel, *V.B.*, p. 258; *Basque*, Cerquand, i. 51; *German*, Proehle, ii. No. 1; *Flemish*, Wolf, No. 4; *Tyrol*, Zingerle, i. No. 20; Schneller, Nos. 9, 10, 11; *Tuscany*, Nerucci, No. 23; *Denmark*, Asbjoernsen, ii. 166; *Finland*, Beauvois, p. 139; *Norway*, Dasent, p. 1; *Russia*, Goldschmidt, p. 61; *Wends*, Haupt, ii. 181; *Bohemia*, Waldau, p. 271; *Roumania*, *Ausland*, 1857, p. 1028; *Tsiganes*, Miklosisch, No. 12; *Serbia*, Mijatovich, p. 80; Naake, p. 130; *Greek*, Garnett, ii. 286; *Catalonia*, *Rondallayre*, i. 68; *Portugal*, Coelho, No. 20.

[2] Scott, iv. 387.

[3] Tawney, p. 162. Radloff, iii. 343. *Cf.* for another Indian version, *Ind. Ant.*, 1875; and for a Pamir variant, *Jour. As. Soc., Bengal*, xlv. 180.

[4] Knowles, p. 231.

way in which separate incidents of different cycles are found in new combinations.

Some examples from a still lower stratum of folk-culture fall under no story-cycle, but show the same idea of magical powers in water. In most of them these powers are given by some supernatural being—a point which will be noticed later. Thus the Esthonian epic tells how the sweat from Kalevipœg's forehead sank into the earth, and from it arose a healing spring of wonderful virtues, which strengthened the weak, healed the sick, cured blindness, and bestowed beauty.[1] Glooskap, the Micmac hero-divinity, instructed a youth to take some water and with it wash the face of a decrepit old woman. "And as he did so all her wrinkles vanished, and she became young and very beautiful."[2] A Dindje tale has some features of the Truth and Falsehood cycle. A blind old man, deserted by his wife and son, bewails his fate by the edge of the lake. There a diver takes pity on him and plunges him several times into the lake, restoring his sight by degrees, after which he takes vengeance on his relations.[3] A Pawnee hero, having returned from the dead, finds his mother blind through weeping. He tells her to take a certain bowl of water, put her face in it, then open her eyes, and her sight will be restored. But she must only do this after he has gone. In Polynesian legend Tané restored sight to the old hag Kui the blind, by striking her sightless eyes with two nuts from a certain tree.[4]

Still another power of the mystic water is to give abnormal strength, and this aspect of it is found in

[1] Kirby, i. 59. [2] Leland, *A.L.*, p. 100.

[3] Petitot, p. 86. The story is also current among the Dénés, *ibid.* p. 226.

[4] Grinnell, p. 148. *Cf.* a Kashmir story where parents who have wept themselves blind are cured by their son, a holy man, placing his hands on their eyes. Knowles, pp. 19, 41. Gill, p. 112.

several tales, which only occasionally fall into well-defined groups. A Basque hero, after desperate and unsuccessful fighting with a seven-headed serpent, is given a horse, dog, sword, and "a bottle of good scented water" by a grateful giant. The abducted princess throws this on his face and over his horse and dog while the fight is going on. All obtain a vast accession of strength, and the dragon is overcome.[1] Gol, the hero of a Russian story, only pretends to be strong, and insists on the princess giving him the "water of heroes" to drink.[2] It inspires with strength and knightly qualities, which he thus obtains, and slays her dragon captor. A variation of this idea is found in a Finnish story, where the hero, before he can move an immense sword, must wet his head with blood from a tub standing in the forbidden room of the devil's house.[3]

A more skilful treatment of this theme occurs in several tales. A story from Russia tells how the youngest of three sons was alone successful in finding his mother, stolen away by Vikhor, the whirlwind. She shows him two tubs of water standing in the cellar, and makes him drink of one, until he feels he could give the whole world a jolt. In the other tub is the Water of Weakness, which he puts in the place of the first. In the fight which follows, Vikhor drinks copiously out of the wrong tub and is easily vanquished by the prince.[4] This episode occurs in the Esthonian epic. When Kalevipœg descends to Hades three maidens direct him to two jars, one full of liquid white as milk, the other of liquid black as pitch. He dips his hands in the latter and his strength is doubled. The maidens then displace two glasses of magic liquor, of which one gives the strength of ten oxen, the other produces proportionate weakness. Sarvik,

[1] Webster, p. 22.
[2] Naake, p. 28.
[3] *S. ja. T.*, ii. 2.
[4] Ralston, p. 237.

lord of Hades, drinks of the wrong glass, and is defeated by the hero.[1] The two fluids are found in many Slavonic stories, as where a flying snake brings two heroes to a lake into which a green bough is thrown. At once it is burned up. Into a second lake they throw a mouldy log, which at once puts forth buds and blossoms.[2] Occasionally it is not water, but magic ointment, which gives strength or invulnerability. Some Norse tales describe this; it also occurs in a Lithuanian story, where strong Hans, a monster being sent by a witch to kill him, is instructed by an angel to bathe in a certain brook and then anoint his body with an ointment which he gives him.[3] The composition of the unguent is not told, as it is in a ghastly legend from the Congo, where the queen of the Jagas is said to have flung her infant into a mortar and ground him to pulp, which she mixed with oil, roots, and leaves, and anointed her body therewith, thus becoming invulnerable. Many of her subjects followed her example, and some of the ointment is said to be still in existence.[4]

Another property of the mystic water is to give beauty. The Finns have several stories of people washing in a marvellous well and becoming beautiful beyond all description; while in a tale from Lapland an ugly lad with a sore head dips it in a certain kettle, when his ugliness disappears and his hair is changed to gold.[5] Conversely, a story told among the Passamaquodies relates how the scrapings of the horn of a fabulous monster, mixed with water and drunk by a beautiful girl, changed her into an ugly old squaw.[6]

[1] Kirby, i. 100. *Cf.* the Hindu legend of the Asura, who drank up Indra's strength. Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, v. 258.

[2] Afanasief, viii. 205.

[3] Dasent, pp. 178, 209; *Zeit. für Volkskunde*, i. 230.

[4] Reade, p. 367.

[5] *S. ja T.*, i. 43; Friis, p. 152.

[6] Leland, *A.L.*, p. 327.

Already it has been seen that a certain water or medicine slays.[1] This is the natural correlative in primitive belief of a water which gives life, but some curious variations of it occur. Thus the Nereid of a Greek story advises the hero not to drink the Water of Life when he finds it, because it kills the living; while in some Slavonic tales Water of Death as well as Water of Life must be used to resuscitate the dead.[2] The former heals the wounds of the dead man, the latter brings back the vital spark, as is illustrated by a Bohemian tale. Irik, having been sent by the king to obtain Golden Hair, is beheaded by him on his return because he has broken a tabu. Golden Hair places head and trunk together and pours Water of Death over them. They come together, without trace of any mark. Then she sprinkles the corpse with Water of Life, when Irik rises safe and sound. The old king now wishes to be made young. Accordingly, he is beheaded and sprinkled first with Water of Life, till it is exhausted. Nothing happens. Water of Death is then used, but though the head joins the body the king remains a corpse, and Irik marries Golden Hair.[3] This story belongs to a wide group, in which a king is cheated and the hero marries the maiden whom he has been sent to seek. Mons Tro, the hero of a Danish variant, is killed outright by the Water of Death, but restored more handsome than ever by the Water of Life. This is also done to the king, but he is not satisfied and wishes to be handsomer still. But on the second trial none of the life-giving fluid is left. "Let what is dead be dead," says the princess, and casts in her lot with Mons Tro.[4] Finally, by the

[1] *Vide* the Lorraine Impostor story, *supra.*

[2] Garnett, i. 252. [3] Naake, p. 108.

[4] Grundtvig (Mulley), p. 17. In this, as in the Bohemian variant, the waters have been obtained by the hero himself, always through the help of ravens. In the Breton variant the hero is not experimented

recitation of various charms the same water kills or restores life, in a story from Bengal. A hermit teaches a princess the necessary words of the charm. Taking some water he repeats certain words over it, and throws it on a deer, which falls dead. Then, having recited other words, the deer rises to life again. By knowledge of the charm, the husband of the princess and his three friends kill some *rakshasas*, who are their enemies.[1] Such a story as this is, however, rather a reflection of the methods of the sorcerer and medicine-man all the world over.

Having thus seen the various properties of the Water of Life—resuscitating, bestowing immortality, healing wounds or blindness, giving strength or beauty, and having noted the various groups of folk-tales to which it has given rise, it remains to inquire into the origin of such an idea as this. We must seek that origin in primitive belief regarding water generally, whether as ocean, river, spring, or well. At the primitive animistic stage of thought, water in its various forms, like every other thing in the world, was personified and believed to be actually a living creature. As far as water is concerned, this is the less wonderful, since being ever in motion, sparkling in the sunshine, murmuring or thundering along its bed, taking constantly its toll of human life, it may well have seemed to be indeed a living creature. This idea appears in a fragment of ancient Hebrew poetry, where the well is addressed as a living being,

on, and the king is killed outright by the Water of Death—Luzel, *V.B.*, p. 148. The method of killing the king differs in other variants—*Slav.*, Schiefner, No. 1 (drowned); *Sicilian*, Gonzenbach, No. 30, and *Spanish*, Caballero, ii. 27 (consumed by a furnace, in which the hero, anointed with a certain ointment, has been beautified).

[1] Day, p. 278. *Cf.* a Tamil story where the mother of a murdered child, by the charm called *Sisupabam*, re-created the body, and by the incantation called *Sanjivi* restored it to life. A man whose love has died, sees this done and imitates it successfully with her body. Oriental Trans. Fund's *Miscell. Trans.*, i. 32, 67.

while the Hebrew use of the term "living water" is based on the primitive conception.[1] With primitive men personification was never far removed from deification, and especially among agricultural peoples it is easy to see how the fertilising waters, working such blessings to the land, were conceived of as full of divine energy, nay, as themselves divine. The well, perennially flowing when all other waters were dried up, may easily have seemed supernatural to those who knew nothing of natural law. Moreover, the existence of thermal and chemical springs must always have suggested mysterious powers to primitive men. Again, the wounds of savages heal much more quickly than those of civilised men. In most cases these wounds would be washed in water to remove dirt or blood, and to the water the power of healing would then be attributed. To such reasons as these must be assigned the divine powers ascribed to river or lake, but especially to the sacred well.

A further reason is to be found in the invigorating effect of a plunge into water after hard work or exercise. Primitive men would soon find out this for themselves, perhaps first of all by following the example of many animals which stand in water during the hottest hours of the day. The recuperative power of a plunge into river or lake or sea, to anyone tired with the exertion of obtaining food, exhausted by heat, and covered with dust and dirt, must have given convincing proof that water had certain life-giving properties in itself, which were easily imparted to beast or man. Many savage tribes make considerable use of the bath, and revel in a plunge quite as much as does the modern Englishman. But what was good for man was good also for his divinities, who had the same frailties as himself. The next step, therefore, was solemnly to bathe image or idol in the

[1] Numbers xxi. 17.

sacred waters at certain seasons, but usually when some special act of power was to be asked of them. By this means their jaded energies were restored, and a new access of divine power was bestowed on them. Savages, ancient Germans, cultured Greeks and Romans, Hindus, and the peasantry of Christian Europe are in the same tale as far as this practice is concerned.[1]

But what thus gave strength or cured disease could also wash off defilement of all sorts, real or imagined. Hence among many savage races the taking off of a tabu or the contagion of death is accomplished by washing or sprinkling with water.[2] It is then but a step to the idea that the sacred stream will remove the guilt of sin, and so we find ancient Peruvians and Mexicans, Greeks and Romans, as well as modern Hindus, resorting to this means to be freed from the consequences of crime.[3]

The powers of the sacred well or spring are much the same wherever found, and there is no race and no country, nor indeed any age of the world's history, which has not its wells innumerable. These, the abode of divinity or spirit, or hallowed by Christian saint (the legitimate successor of the pagan god), healed diseases, purified the unclean, received the worship of their devotees, and gave oracles to the trembling enquirer. Christian churches were often

[1] See generally, Bérenger-Féraud, i. 436 *seq.*; Tacitus, *Germania*, 60, 40, 3; Pausanias, ii. 28, 2; Lucian, *De Dea Syria*, 47; Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 135, 337. Bérenger-Féraud cites many examples of bathing the images of Christian saints—an evident survival of a pagan practice; but the purpose is rather to cause a sufficient rain-fall (through sympathetic magic), than to give more strength to the saint, though this idea is not lost sight of.

[2] The evidence for this is too wide to give separate authorities, but see Crawley, p. 228; Fraser, *Golden Bough*; and Reville, *Rel. des non-civ.* i. 158; ii. 65.

[3] See instances collected in my *Comparative Theology*, pp. 151, 252. The use of water in pagan forms of "baptism," and initiation is also treated of there, ch. xii.

built over an earlier pagan well, its waters being made to pass under the altar, where they continued to work miracles. Mr Theodore Bent has given many instances from the Cyclades, and a friend who assisted at the discovery of St Clether's chapel in Cornwall informs me that the same method has been in use there.[1] Whether in ancient or modern times, among savages or partially civilised peoples, there is no limit to the powers of such wells, or to the powers which people *believed* them to have, which is the same thing as far as results are concerned. Healing sore eyes and curing lameness were two principal powers attributed to them; but they also preserved from evil and accident, furnished a husband within the year, gave fertility to women, foretold the future.

In our folk-tales with their Water of Life from the Well beyond the World, we see the romantic side of this veneration for water. The primitive literary artist, like the novelist of to-day, worked with the stock ideas and incidents of common life, heightened them by his imaginative power, and so produced the folk-tale. Water, and especially certain wells known to him and his audience, had well-known powers of healing, purifying, restoring; so then, *somewhere, surely, afar*, there was a miraculous well which could restore life or limb, cure blindness, give strength, or beauty, or immortality. Human ideals are largely the product of human desires, and what a man wants he thinks must exist somewhere. Hence the origin of the Water of Life with its marvellous properties, which, however, are only magnified, non-natural forms of such properties as men firmly believed to exist in the sacred wells known to them, as an examination of the folk-lore of such wells will prove.[2]

[1] Bent, pp. 122, 296, 327.

[2] The sacred fountain near the temple of Amphiaraus was believed by the Greeks to heal maladies, but he who *drank* of the water died. *Cf.* this with the Greek folk-tale cited above, p. 73. Perhaps to such

The endeavour to obtain such water was necessarily accompanied by many dangers and difficulties — a point which the tales cited have alluded to. The quest might involve the hero's death, for the Water lies between two mountains which continually open and close, or it is in the hands of some supernatural being, or human sorcerer, who guards it jealously. The powers of such Water would not be minimised as the story passed from mouth to mouth, and ever new picturesque details would easily be added. In the cycles of folk-tales with the Water of Life incident we see the final stereotyped form of the idea, and in the less complete and therefore more primitive tales, the material out of which the former grew.[1]

The religious use of the folk-tale incident occurs in ancient Babylonian mythology and ritual. The goddess Ishtar descended to Hades to seek Tammuz, untimely lost, and to give him to drink of the water of life, which gushed up under the throne of the spirits of the earth, so that he might be brought back to life. But Ishtar herself was stripped and bound, and in her absence men and beasts and earth languished, as they did when Demeter sought Persephone. The god Ea then compelled the infernal goddess to let her go, but having passed into the land of death she had first to be sprinkled with the waters of life. The poem

an idea as this, as well as to primitive magical practices, we may trace the notion of a Water of Death.

[1] In several tales cited the water is guarded by a serpent, or is brought by ravens. Many races have made the serpent the guardian of the waters, for reasons to be shown later (see p. 407), but the connection of the raven (mainly in Slavonic and Northern tales) with the Water of Life is not obvious. I hazard the theory that the raven may have been the sacred bird of some water-divinity. In an ancient Greek tale from Apollodorus (*Bibl.* i. 9, 12), Melampus assembles the birds, and asks a remedy for his master's son, Iphicles, whereupon a vulture indicates it to him. We have also seen how birds know the secret of the Water in the Truth and Falsehood cycle. In some Russian tales the Water is guarded by the fearful Baba Yaga.

embodying this myth was sung at the yearly Tammuz festival, and probably told also of the restoration of Tammuz by the water. We have here an instance of a folk-belief being taken up into a more purely religious atmosphere. Or, in other words, the germs from which the episodes of many folk-tales spring, are also the germs which, in other cases, become religious myths.[1]

[1] Jastrow, *op. cit.*, p. 563. *Cf.* the Babylonian myth cited, p. 64 *supra.*

CHAPTER IV

THE RENEWAL OF LIFE IN THE DEAD OR DISMEMBERED

THE stories which introduce this subject fall into three groups:—(1) Those in which the dead or apparently dead are restored to life; (2) those in which the dismembered live again; (3) those in which the dead live on under other forms. All savages, early and late, have the utmost difficulty in understanding what death is. They think of it as no more than a prolonged sleep or trance. It was introduced into the world by accident or as an afterthought. It is invariably unnatural, and is the result of demoniac or magical influence. Proof of these beliefs is now unnecessary; on them, however, the stories which will be cited in this chapter are based.

(1) We shall look first at those which tell of simple restoration to life. It has already been seen how this frequently happens by means of the Water of Life, but various other means are employed to effect the same purpose. A Maori story relates that when Toka was drowned, his father dived down for him, and found his body all cold in the dwelling of Tangaroa, god of the sea. After laying his dead son carefully apart, he set fire to Tangaroa's house, then going to remove the body, "behold, he stood before his father full of life once more."[1] In another story

[1] Clarke, p. 113.

from Samoa, Tangaloa grew jealous of his brother-in-law and caused his people to kill him, after which they cast his body into the river. It floated to where his sister stood; she seized it, patted the head, and prayed for her brother's restoration, when "his wounds closed up and healed, and the lad sat up."[1] A Tasmanian story relates that two women were impaled by a sting ray and died. Two black fellows, the bringers of fire, who are now stars, took the bodies, laid them between great fires, and having collected many ants, placed them on their breasts. "Severely, intensely were they bitten. The women revived, they lived once more," and are now the companions of the black fellows in the sky. There is an Australian variant of this story; there the women are swallowed by alligators and are taken lifeless from the carcases of these reptiles.[2] In another Australian story a confirmed wife-beater has been drowned by his two wives, and is restored to life by his mother, a sorceress, who places him on an ant-hill. Like Jonas Chuzzlewit, he pretended affection till such time as he could pay his wives back. He induced them to bathe in a pool in which he had placed two sharp stakes. They were impaled, but his mother rubbed the bodies with her medicine, then placed them on the ant-hill, when they gradually returned to life as the ants stung them. So Okikurumi, the culture-hero of Japan, is said by the Ainos to have restored his henchman, who was wounded to death when out fishing.[3]

[1] Turner, p. 85. This story has affinities with those of the Transformed Brother cycle (p. 159). Here, as in them, the children are deserted by their parents. Tangaloa marries the girl, and after her brother's restoration they return to their parents again.

[2] Ling Roth, p. 84. Parker, p. 11.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 77. Stinging with ants and thrashing with boughs are resorted to by many savages as a means of driving out evil from the body. See Frazer, i. 153; ii. 233. Roberston Smith, *Rel. of Semites*, appendix. Chamberlain, *A.F.T.*, p. 30.

These stories may suggest nothing more than the savage's inability to distinguish between unconsciousness induced by wounds or by trance, and death itself, and the undoubtedly frequent instances of such recovery would only strengthen the belief that recovery from death was also possible, and would give rise to stories concerning it. Nenpetro, say the Fjorts, had three wives, the Dreamer, the Guide, and the Raiser of the Dead. One day, while hunting for his hungry wives, he was killed by an ox. The Dreamer dreamt of this; the Guide showed the others the way to his body; and the Raiser of the Dead, by means of herbs and plants, restored him to life. They then began to argue. Who should have the honour of first receiving him into her hut? This knotty question was solved by their agreeing that it should be the one whose pot he ate from first, and, of course, this was the Raiser of the Dead.[1] The common belief prevails that restoration to life by means of certain plants is possible, and, as we have seen, a common folk-tale version is that in which a hero is restored by his friend or brother using water or a plant which he has seen a serpent make use of to bring back another serpent to life.[2] So in the *Rama-*

[1] Dennett, p. 83. A curious likeness to this story is found in a Balochi tale, of which there are other Eastern variants. Four men keep guard in succession. One makes a wooden image of a woman; the second finds it and dresses it; the third decks it in jewels; the fourth prays to God to give it life. The image breathes and moves. In the morning all dispute as to the ownership of the woman; the king decides that the man who clothed her has the best right, because "it is the bridegroom who gives clothes to the bride." "Balochi Tales," *Folk-Lore*, iii. 524.

[2] *Wallachian* version, Schott, No. 10; *Greek*, Hahn, ii. 204, 260; *German*, Grimm, No. 16; *Kabyle*, Rivière, p. 193. *Cf.* the old Greek story of Polyidus, imprisoned for not being able to restore Glaucus to life. In his prison he killed a serpent, but saw another serpent fetch a herb and apply it to the dead one, when it was restored to life. With this herb he revived Glaucus. Apollodorus, iii. 10. 3.

yana Hanuman restores his monkeys by means of various herbs, one of which cures wounds, another joins broken limbs, a third removes pain, a fourth gives back life to the dead; while a dead huma is restored by another bird, which places a piece of grass in its mouth. This is from a Kashmir story, but, in the Hungarian tale of Knight Rose, that hero restores his brothers by means of healing grass and the water of life.[1]

A tree of life or immortality occurs in many mythologies, Semitic, Norse, Malaysian, Chinese, Polynesian. The fruit of the Chinese tree is given by fairies to their favourites, who then become immortal; in Polynesia the dead assemble on a huge tree with dead and living branches. Only those who tread on the living branches come back to life. The Malaysians think that the mystic tree grows on the summit of Mount Kina Balu, and that its fruit bestows immortal youth.[2] All such wonderful plants and trees may be conceived of as nothing more than the imaginative extensions of the use of plants and herbs and leaves of trees in the medicinal lore of all races, aided, too, by the universal custom of tree-worship. Many well-known plants had the power of healing; others were more fabulous and their powers were still more mystical, like the Spanish *pito-real*, which restored sight, or the fabulous Red Indian *kikayweh-bisten*, which cured all ills and conferred length of life. So, too, the Malagasy believe in a "medicine of life" which has power to raise a man from death itself.[3] Here as elsewhere, the wish was father to the thought, and the powers of such herbs can be easily traced in an ascending scale, from the

[1] Wheeler, *Hist. of India*, ii. 368. Knowles, p. 12. Jones, p. 57.

[2] Dennys, p. 97. Gill, p. 170. St John, i. 255.

[3] *F.L.J.*, i. 295; ii. 98; iv. 3. Ellis, *Hist. of Madag.*, i. 473.

known and usual to the unknown and unusual and mystical.

Other tales reveal magical methods as the means of revival. Thus a folk-tale imbedded in the *Ko-ji-ki*, or Sacred Book of Japan, relates that when the Deity Great Name Possessor was put to death by the jealous gods, his mother appealed to the heaven gods, who sent Princess Cockle-shell and Princess Clam to help. The first triturated and scorched her shell; the second mixed it with water and smeared him with it, when he recovered as a beautiful youth.[1] In many Eskimo stories men are restored to life when magical charms are sung over them. This also occurs in American-Indian tales. A Hare-skin hero, who had learnt magic from a giant, killed his parents and then told them to rise again, when they became living once more. So two youths, killed by an old witch, were restored by their father, a sorcerer, sleeping with them and engaging in magical methods.[2] In one story cycle with many variants, of which I cite a Greek version later, a hero obtains several magical objects, one of which is a flute, or guitar, or violin, which, when played, restores the dead to life, thus taking the place of the magical charm. La Ramée, in the Lorraine variant, went to war with the king who refused him his daughter in marriage, and killed all his soldiers with five iron men. In the sequel the conquered king relented, whereupon La Ramée produced his violin, played a jig, and the dead soldiers jumped up, replacing their hacked-off heads and arms on neck and shoulders.[3]

[1] Chamberlain, *Ko-ji-ki*, p. 70.

[2] Petitot, pp. 140, 286. Dead animals are similarly restored in Indian (Temple, p. 124) and Red Indian stories (Petitot, p. 192), as also in mediæval legends, by the mystic power of Christian saints—Thorpe, ii. 231; O'Curry, *Manners of Ancient Irish*, iii. 35.

[3] *Cf.* p. 216. Cosquin, ii. 5, 285. *Flemish*, Wolf, No. 26; *Sicilian*, Gonzenbach, No. 45.

Such stories illustrate our general thesis that the primitive savage does not understand the true nature of death, and that he does not differentiate between it and a state of unconsciousness. On the other hand, since it is commonly believed that death is either the result of demoniac or magical agency, the theory arises that by magical agency the dead may be restored. Those stories just cited show the imaginative presentation of this theory, and in practice we find (as will be seen in the next chapter) that the medicine-man is frequently called in to capture the wandering soul of the dying or the dead, so that by its replacement the patient may revive. Besides having the power of raising the dead, the medicine-man is himself thought to have died and come to life again. This presupposition of the possibility of revival must have been supported by the use made by medicine-men of the hypnotic trance. But first let us trace this in some folk-tales. From Kashmir we learn that a *dev* taught his daughter how to make a man die and then come alive again. A wand was to be placed under his head to rouse him, under his his feet to make him sleep.[1] I have discussed in a later chapter the magic rods found by the side of sleeping beauties in Eastern stories, one of which causes death, the other restoration to life.[2] The prolonged magic sleep of Grimm's story of the Briar Rose and its variants may have its origin in primitive uses of hypnotism. In other stories animation is suspended by thrusting a pin into the head, by tying a thread round the neck, and, in English and Celtic tales, a sleep thorn is employed for the same purpose.[3] The pins, wands, etc., like the passes of the mesmerist, need be nothing more than the outward instruments of what is really due in all cases to inward suggestion.

[1] Knowles, p. 199. *Cf.* Day, p. 81.
[2] *Cf.* p. 205.
[3] *Cf.* p. 31. Yeats, *Secret Rose*, p. 110.

Hypnotism, as well as an induced trance state with "spirit" utterance, is, in fact, used by savage medicine-men in America, New Zealand, Sumatra, Cambodja, Annam, Africa, and elsewhere, as it is and was by Taoist and Egyptian priests and mediæval witches.[1] Such practices may easily have given rise to stories of resuscitation after death, as a case cited by Mr Dennett will show. A Fjort woman is thought to be a *revenant.* She "died"; her lover was accused of bewitching her, and at once took poison. Meanwhile she was buried, but soon after found herself the slave of a white man in Borna. She firmly believes that she is a ghost, as do her relatives. "I have tried to convince her," writes Mr Dennett, "that the Nganga Nkissi, or native doctor, must have played her some trick, and that she had been buried by him while in a trance, or while unconscious, and that he must have taken her to Borna and sold her there to his own profit; but she would not believe it."[2] Compare with this the New Guinea islanders' belief that their priests can kill a man, dismember him, and then restore him to life; soon after, however, the man dies suddenly as a result of this drastic treatment. Among the Bantu peoples of South Africa it is firmly believed that wizards and doctors can send people into a trance, and then torment or mutilate them without their feeling any pain. One young woman was thus treated, and when she awoke did not know she had been injured until she saw the blood on her body. Such stories are claimed by the Reverend J. Macdonald to have a basis of truth and to be referable to actual hypnotic powers. Others, again, suggest the natural exaggeration of such powers, and tell of wizards who reduce people's wills to a state of abject slavery, send men into the forest

[1] Regnault, *La Sorcellerie*, chap. i.
[2] Dennett, p. 11.

to eat grass, and in other ways show their mastery over them.[1]

It should also be noted that at the initiation of savage youths at puberty—a rite which introduces them to a new life and at which a new name is bestowed upon them, or during initiation to the tribal mysteries, the lads are supposed to die and then come to life again. In some cases this is a mere *façon de parler* for the initiated, but women and the uninitiate hold it to be an actual fact, as, *e.g.*, among the Wiradthuri tribes of Australia. The rite itself, in this case, has given rise to a legend, the details of which are known only to the initiated. Long ago there was a being called Dhuramoolan, intermediary between the divinity Baiamai and his people. It was his duty to take the boys of the tribe into the bush and initiate them into all the tribal knowledge and duties. But when he returned some of the boys were usually found missing; they had died of disease, said Dhuramoolan. It was also noticed that each boy had lost one of his incisor teeth. Dhuramoolan had an explanation ready. He informed Baiamai that he always killed and dismembered the boys, and burned them to ashes; out of the ashes he formed new beings, each with a tooth missing. But at last the truth came out. Dhuramoolan wrenched each boy's tooth out by means of his own, and while doing so made a meal off one or two of the lads. Then he forced the others to relate his own concocted story. As a punishment Baiamai killed him and put his voice of thunder into all the trees of the forest. Out of one of these he made a bull-roarer, which, when swung round, had the sound of Dhuramoolan's voice. This bull-roarer he instructed the old men to use ever after at the rite of initiation, which was also to include the knocking out

[1] Turner, *Samoa*, p. 348. *Folk-Lore*, iii. 348.

of a tooth, while he forbade them to tell the women and the uninitiated about Dhuramoolan's fraud; hence these still believe that the boys die and come alive again.[1] Probably this is an ætiological myth, *i.e.*, one which has arisen to explain a ceremony the meaning of which had been lost, but in all such rites it is a curious thing that death and restoration to life invariably figure. For example, with some Negro and American-Indian tribes the youth is thrown into a hypnotic trance by the medicine-man, and is even buried. On awaking, he has forgotten his old life.[2] Sometimes this death and revival are symbolised by a pantomimic ritual. As followed by the Crees the ritual consists of a selected individual being surrounded by the medicine-men, who wave their manitous and point invisible arrows at him. Presently he falls as if dead, and one of the sorcerers makes hypnotic passes over him. After an interval his breath gradually returns, and at last he wakes up in a stupor, crying, "Why have you recalled me from the delightful spirit-land?" Similar rites are in use among the natives of New South Wales, Dyaks, and others, while the symbolism of passing from an old life to a new was made use of in the ancient Mexican, Mithraic, Eleusinian, and Bacchic mysteries.[3] Symbolic dances, curiously alike, in South Uist and the Cyclades may be relics of similar trance initiations. In South Uist a man and a woman dance; the

[1] *J.A.I.*, xxv. 297, R. H. Matthews, *The Burbung of the Wiradthuri Tribes*. *Cf.* Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes*, pp. 343, 347, 501, for a similar belief among women and others about the initiation rites of these tribes. The noise of the bull-roarer "is made by a spirit whom they call Katajalina, who lives in an ant-hill and comes out and eats the boy up, restoring him subsequently to life."

[2] *J.A.I.*, xiii. 472. Keane, *Man: Past and Present*, p. 109. Catlin, *O-Kee-Pa*, p. 21.

[3] *Crees*, Petitot, p. 477. *Australians*, *J.A.I.*, ii. 268; xiii. 432-59. *Dyaks*, Ling Roth, i. 250. For the Mysteries, see my *Comparative Theology*, p. 248 *seq.*

former is armed with a "druidic wand," with which, as the dance goes on, he touches the woman's head, whereupon she falls as if dead. He then breathes on her left hand and touches it with the wand; she begins to move. The process is repeated with her right hand, when the movement becomes more marked. Finally, when he has breathed into her mouth and touched her above the heart, she springs up and resumes the dance with him. In the Cyclades the dance is symbolic of one believed to be practised by the Kalkagari, evil spirits of the satyr-type. It is danced by two men, one of whom passes repeatedly under the legs of the other, while both keep bobbing up and down. At last one of them falls dead. His companion dances stealthily round him, and hops over his legs and body. When this has gone on for some time, he raises him up, restored to life and vigour, and both go on dancing as before.[1]

The purpose of these initiation rites with their ritual of death and restoration, has been suggested by Mr J. G. Frazer to be that "of extracting the youth's soul to transfer it to his totem," for security. The youth dies, but receives new life from his totem, and is thereafter called by its name. We shall return to this in discussing "The Separable Soul"; meanwhile it should be noted how the rites illustrate the belief in revival from death, and show incidentally how that belief received support from the medicine-man's powers to induce and release from the hypnotic trance. The savage easily confused *Death and his brother Sleep*, hypnotic or ordinary, and to revive from the one was considered to be as easy as waking from the other.

(2) There are many stories—those especially in which the dismembered are brought to life—which cannot be explained by referring them to the mystic

[1] Carmichael, *Carmina Gadelica*, i. 208. Bent, p. 366.

powers of the medicine-man. The first group to be considered contains many tales which bear a certain resemblance to the Egyptian myth of Osiris. Osiris was imprisoned and set afloat in a chest by Set and seventy-two companions. The chest became imbedded in a tree, which was afterwards used as one of the pillars of the royal palace. Isis, Osiris's sister, extracted it from the pillar and buried it. Set discovered it, and tearing open the lid cut the body into fourteen pieces, and scattered them over the land. Isis searched for them and discovered all but one; she and Nephthys placed them carefully together, and Anubis embalmed them. Thus Osiris became the first Egyptian mummy. Later mythology suggested that Osiris then rose from the dead, as it was hoped every embalmed mummy would one day do. Similarly Greek mythology told how Hera, jealous of Dionysus, caused the Titans to tear him limb from limb. Then his mother, Demeter, pieced the fragments together so that he came to life again.[1]

Some folk-tales, from different parts of the world, bear a curious resemblance to the Osiris myth; the nearest being a Roumanian story. By the treachery of his mother, Frounsé Werdyé was killed and chopped into a thousand pieces by a dragon. His guardian, Holy Mother Sunday, collected the pieces and gave them life, but found that the eyes were wanting because the dragon had kept them. She disguised herself as a musician and while playing

[1] Apollodorus has preserved a Greek myth in which Typho overcomes Zeus, and cuts out his muscles with the god's golden sickle, imprisoning him in a cave. Hermes stole the muscles from their dragon guardian and fitted them to Zeus's body. He recovered and destroyed the monster. But in a variant Cadmus charms the monster with his music, and obtains the tendons as strings for his lyre, restoring them to Zeus. This also is the *motif* of the Roumanian tale which follows. Apollodorus, *Bibl.* in Westermann, i. 6. 3.

before the dragon caused one of the strings of her violin to break. Then she said, "It can only be mended by the eye of a man." In this way she obtained one of the hero's eyes, and by the breaking of a second string, the other. Morevna, the hero of a Russian story, had his wife stolen by Koshchei the Deathless, who chopped him into bits, and put them in a barrel, which he flung into the sea. Fortunately for him, his brothers-in-law, the eagle, the falcon, and the raven, sought and found the barrel, procured the waters of life and death, and caused his revival. "What a long time I've been sleeping!" he cried, when he awoke; whereupon they answered, "You'd have gone on sleeping a good deal longer if it hadn't been for us!" In another Russian story a demon in the form of a young blacksmith changed an old lady into a young and pretty girl by burning her in his furnace, and then throwing the bones into a tub of milk, from which she emerged with renewed life and youth. So in the Finnish *Kalevala* Lemminkainen was killed and dismembered by a shepherd in the abode of the dead; his life-token (as in the Russian story) gave warning of this to his mother, who set out to seek him. After she had asked many creatures where he was, the Sun took pity on her and told her. She collected the pieces together with a rake from the river of death; alas, he still remained dead. But a bee brought her a certain vivifying balm "from the cellar of the Creator"; it was applied to his body, when he sprang up crying, "How long I have slept!" Compare with these a Carib story cited later, in which the child of the snake lover of a woman is cut in pieces by her brothers. She covered the pieces with flowers and leaves, and like Rizpah sat down to watch. Presently from the heap a head and shoulders and a mighty human form appeared. It was her child thus restored to become the ancestor of the Carib race. Such resuscitations are also ascribed to the Algonquin demon Lox,

who is "one of those who rise from the dead." In one story two boys touch his mutilated body, when it revives; in another ants collect the fragments, only to be rewarded by being trampled to death by the ungrateful Lox; in a third he is cast down from the sky, but sings the charm, "Oh, spare my poor backbone!" Every part of him was scattered, but his backbone lay whole, and from it came a voice which summoned the other members together, till he stood up whole as ever. In a Dindje tale a crow was killed by the Navigator, who afterwards collected the bones and restored it to life. But one of its members, a toe (explained by M. Petitot as equivalent to the φαλλός —the missing member in the Osirian myth) was wanting, and the crow had to go without it. The Pawnees also have stories in which animals restore dismembered heroes to life, usually by magical means. In one of these they collected Pa-hu-ka-tawa's flesh and bones, but could not find his brains and scalp. Replacing these with down, they passed their paws over the pieces, danced and sang, till he came to life again. Yet as the hero himself said, "Not as a person was I alive, but as a spirit." A Zuni tale presents some interesting features. A woman who has been secluded, but has the sun for a lover, is killed as she is escaping from the amorous pursuit of some youths, and gives birth to twins. When they grow up the sun tells them where to find her bones, but they are not to omit any, else she will lack that part when she comes to life. An eye is dropped, with the result that she returns to life with only one eye. Later she and her sons are slain, but one of them rises to life again and becomes the lover of a girl. He becomes a skull at sunrise, and remains so till sunset; but, persuaded by the girl's father, he preserves his human shape. The copiousness of such stories among the Red men is easily explained by the pains many of the tribes take to preserve the bodies or

bones of the dead, with a view to their ultimate revival.[1]

The methods of the sorceress Medea, in what is doubtless an old Greek *Märchen* or saga, to which a literary form has been given by the poets, may fitly be referred to here. Having cast the aged Aeson into a deep sleep, and having prepared her cauldron with its mystic brew, she cut his throat and then poured the mixture into the wound, when he rose up young and blooming. Then having told this to the daughters of Pelias, and having shown them how an old ram could become a lamb, she persuaded them to cut their father in pieces, and place him in the cauldron. But poor Pelias remained dead, as Medea had intended that he should.[2]

The Malagasy tell how Ibonia went off to seek his ravished wife, as in the Russian tale of Morevna. He recovered her, but was shot by her ravisher. His parents, warned by his life-token, mourned for him, but his friends, more practical, collected the bones. "Joiner together" united them; "Life-giver" breathed on them till the flesh grew and life returned. The Polynesian god Tangaroa was slain by Maui, who later took his decomposed body, put the bones in a cocoa-nut shell and shook them vigorously. Tangaroa returned to life, but much humbled by his startling experiences. In the New

[1] Cosquin, ii. 46. Ralston, pp. 59, 91; *cf.* p. 235. *Kalevala*, Rune xv. 530. Brett, p. 64; *cf.* p. 259 *infra*. Leland, *A.L.*, p. 158. Petitot, pp. 36, 153. Grinnell, pp. 121, 154. Cushing, p. 429. Brinton, *Myths of New World*, p. 295 *seq.* *Cf.* with the Pawnee story, a Roumanian tale in which a bull restores to life those who fed him, by licking the dismembered body—*Roumanian F.T.*, p. 48. In a Kafir story, when one wife of a chief is drowned by the jealous second wife, her ox fetches the body out, and licks it till life is restored—Theal, p. 129. Lox's backbone recalls the pillar set up in the Osirian festival, called the "backbone of Osiris." The spine is held by many people to be the seat of life.

[2] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, bk. vii.

Zealand variant the god imitates the Red Indian Lox, and calls his own bones together, after which he pursues his undutiful grandson, Maui. Among the tribes of Central Australia the same ideas are found among the traditions of their ancestors' wanderings. While the rite of circumcision was going on, the last man was mutilated and fell dead. His wives found his body and set forth to seek for the mutilated organs. Their attempts to restore them and their owner failed, and all three were turned to stone. But a variant relates that after joining the members together the wives set off to search for food, and on their return found their husband, if not eating a bone, at least healed and restored.[1] We may refer also to the Bushman myth explaining the waning and waxing of the moon. The moon is a man whom the sun gradually cuts down with his knife till only a small piece is left. The moon implores him to spare this piece, which now grows and becomes a complete moon again, when the same process begins *de novo.*

Some of these stories have shown that the restoration is accomplished by magical means; this appears more clearly in others. A long Bengali tale, which bears a curious resemblance to Ezekiel's vision of the valley of dry bones, tells how a prince and his three friends saw a hermit take up a bone and repeat a charm over it. Immediately a clattering sound was heard, and a number of bones came rushing in and lay down beside the other. Over these he said a charm; they joined into a skeleton. A third charm clothed them with flesh, and a fourth gave life to the dead body. In the sequel the four friends, by using these charms, gave life to a king, his courtiers, and subjects, whose bones alone had been left by cannibal *rakshasis.*

[1] *F.L.J.*, ii. 49. *Cf.* the Fjort story cited above. Gill, p. 68; Clarke, 43. Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes*, p. 399.

Another prince, in a Kashmir story, was himself cut in two by a jinn, but restored to life by a saint, who pressed the pieces together, and by his mystic power joined them and gave them life. Again, in the Passamaquoddy story of the Fight of the Witches, Glooskap forced the giant witch to tell where his victims' bones were. These he collected, surrounded with stones, and covered with wood. Then setting fire to the wood, Glooskap sang his magic songs. Louder and louder did he sing, till strange noises came from the bones. Then he began his "resurrection song"; the bones joined with him in singing; he sprinkled water over them, and they came together as living beings once more.[1]

A curious group of stories must now be considered. The *motif* of all is a supernatural revival effected by a divinity or saint. This is imitated by a covetous man, who fails, and he is about to pay the penalty when the saint appears and saves him. A Russian version relates that St Nicholas travelled with a greedy priest to a land where the king's daughter was bewitched, and rich rewards were offered to any who would cure her. Pretending to be doctors, the friends were admitted, and, in order to cure the girl, the saint cut her in pieces, washed these in a tub, breathed on them till they stuck together, and, breathing again, restored her to life. This happened on two other occasions, until the priest resolved to try the experiment, and so gain the whole reward for himself. But when he tried to put the pieces together they obstinately remained apart, and he was being hurried to the gallows as a murderer when Nicholas appeared, raised the girl from death, and so saved the priest.[2]

This story has variants in Tuscany, Brittany,

[1] Day, p. 261. Knowles, p. 70; *cf.* Steele and Temple, p. 56. *F.L.J.*, iv. 6.

[2] Ralston, p. 351.

Lorraine, Suabia, Austria, Germany, Italy, and Norway, and it is remarkable that in some versions God the Father, or Christ, takes the place of the saint.[1] But it is possible that these tales were first told of pagan divinities or heroes. Indeed, it is now proved that St Nicholas was originally a pagan divinity, possibly Artemis, or if he actually existed, was given many of this divinity's attributes.[2] Of him is told the common mediæval story of the three young men whom an innkeeper murdered, cut in pieces, and placed in a tub, intending to salt them down as pork. All this was supernaturally revealed to the saint, who came and prayed over the tub till the youths were restored to life. Some resemblance to this group of tales may be observed in a legend attached to many great names—to Vergil, Roger Bacon, Albert the Great, and Agrippa of Nettesheim. Each of these is said to have bidden his servant cut him in pieces, and place the pieces in a cask, over a lamp, for nine days and nights. But the king ordered the servant to show him what remained of the great man, and on seeing the dismembered body, he ran the supposed murderer through with his sword, thus defeating all possibility of restoration. An infant's body rolled out of the cask, crying to the king, "Cursed be the day when you came here," and then disappeared. A

[1] Gubernatis, *Novelle*, No. 31. Luzel, *Legendes*, i. 30. Cosquin, i. 285. Meier, No. 62. Grimm, iii. 129. Crane, p. 187. Dasent, p. 106.

[2] Prof. Eugène Anichkof, "St Nicholas and Artemis," *Folk-Lore*, v. 108. In mediæval art St Nicholas is depicted standing beside the tub in which the lads are shown with uplifted hands. The incident is the subject of frescoes in churches at Winchester, Tamworth, and Colton. Another group of tales may be noted here, in which an ugly suitor for a princess's hand is turned into a handsome youth by the devil, who cuts him up and sprinkles him with the waters of life and death. There is a Russian version in Ralston, p. 363. Such renovations are common in Eastern tales, most usually by jumping into a lake. *Cf.* p. 157, for transformation effected by this means.

different turn is given to the legend in the case of Paracelsus, whose servant was to open the cask at the end of nine months. But he opened it at the end of seven months, and there was a seven-months' child, who died on the instant. The incident occurs in a Breton folk-tale; here a woman has to let her milk flow over the dismembered body, but just before the expiry of the time, she falls asleep, and the hero Koadalan did not renew his youth![1]

One of the commonest miracles of Christian hagiology, as it is of Mohammedan and Buddhist, is that of raising the dead to life. Some of these are connected with the subject of this chapter. St Vincent Ferrier took the pieces of a child dismembered by its insane mother, and bringing them together, restored them to life with the sign of the cross. In earlier times mutilated saints were themselves restored; the pagans cut off the breasts of St Agatha of Sicily, but Christ replaced them, as did the Virgin to the right hand of St John Damascene, while the dispersed members of St Stanislaus of Poland were miraculously reunited. These examples must suffice from a large range of legendary occurrences which recount events precisely similar to those of our folk-tales.[2]

We may now glance at another group of tales into which the incident of dismemberment, with the loss of some important part of the body on revival (as in the Osiris group) enters. Here, as so often, we have the tasks imposed on the hero by a giant, devil, etc.,

[1] *Revue Celtique*, i. 133.

[2] See the *Martyrologium Romanum*, *passim*. The story of St Agatha will be found under date 5th Feb.; of St John Damascene, 6th May; of St Vincent, 5th April; of St Stanislaus, 7th May. For Buddhist and Mohammedan instances, see Crooke, i. 318, etc.; ii. 263; Burton, *Hist. of Sindh*, 229. Similar stories were told of the gods and mythical heroes by the Greeks and Romans. Æsculapius and Apollonius of Tyana were both said to have raised the dead.

accomplished with the aid of the daughter of his taskmaster, but not before she has gone through a terrible but necessary ordeal. The Tyrolese variant relates that when the hero was ordered to remove a rock from a lake the maiden bade him cut off her head and let *all* the blood flow into a bucket. He spilt three drops; the girl disappeared, but soon after returned alive, though by his carelessness she nearly failed in the task.[1] But more usually the procedure is somewhat different. The hero of a Basque story has to fetch a ring from the river; the girl bids him cut her in pieces and throw them into the river. Constrained to obey, he does so, but part of her little finger sticks to a nail in his shoe, and she lacks one of her finger-joints when she reappears with the ring. But the maimed finger later enables him to identify her among her sisters, who are all like her. There is a Catalan version, in which the finger-joint is lost through a drop of blood falling to the ground. Campbell cites a Gaelic variant. Here the king's son is set by the giant the task of robbing a nest on the top of a huge tree, and the giant's daughter cuts off and sticks her fingers (in a variant her toes) into the tree to make a ladder, but one of them is left at the top of the tree and cannot be recovered. The Lorraine version is more typical. The hero is set by the devil to build a castle with a fine spire. The devil's daughter changes herself into a cat, after which the hero kills her, boils her and separates out her bones, among which he finds the needed spire. Then, according to her orders, he lays the bones together, but misplaces the finger-joint, and the girl comes to life again.[2]

The Osiris and Dionysus myths, together with

[1] Schneller, No. 27.

[2] Webster, p. 123. *Rondallayre*, i. 41. Campbell, i. 31, 52. Cosquin, ii. 11. A friendly insect often helps the hero to select the girl, see p. 20.

the yearly ritual enactment of them, have been classed with those of Attis and Adonis, and with the ritual of their death and restoration celebrated in the mysteries, and have been explained by Mr Frazer and Mr Grant Allen as symbolising what was once a primitive custom, viz., the dismemberment of a human victim, who was buried in the cornfields and believed to renew his life in the harvest which resulted from this magical fertilising act.[1] But, in my opinion, the basis of the myth is found in an earlier custom, besides being connected with primitive man's belief that death was only a temporary accident. That custom, practised by the early neolithic people of Egypt, was the dismemberment of the dead body previous to its burial. The graves of that period show the completest dismemberment, as well as extraordinary care to preserve all the separate bones or the fragments into which they had been broken. Whether this neolithic race was different from the people who later mummified the body is uncertain, but to the last the earlier practice modified the later, since in some cases the φαλλός was mummified separately and buried near the mummy. This, of course, was the lost member of Osiris.[2] Whatever this custom of dismemberment betokened I think it certain that it originated the myth of a divinity who had been so dismembered and yet had risen again to life. The practice must thus have been connected with a belief in restoration to life, and this belief crystallised into the myth of Osiris, to which, at a later date, the vegetable symbolism and ritual were added. Why dismemberment should have been thought a necessary preliminary to restoration, it is impossible to say; we know, however, that many savages preserve the skull or some of the bones of

[1] *Golden Bough*, i. 305. G. Allen, *Evolution of the Idea of God*, p. 310.

[2] De Morgan, *Recherches sur les Origines de l'Egypte*, ii. 142.

their dead relations in order that their souls may always be near them. The bones, as less subject to decay than the flesh, may have seemed to early men the basis of a renewed life. This is perhaps suggested in the Polynesian and Passamaquoddy tales. That the myth originated in the custom of dismemberment, not in vegetable symbolism, is confirmed by the existence of similar folk-tales, Red Indian, Malagasy, Australian, which have nothing to do with such symbolism, and which are told among people, some of whom dismember, and all of whom preserve the bones of the dead. The Egyptian myth may have originated some of our folk-tales, but wherever the custom prevailed such tales would easily be invented independently.

Dismemberment is accomplished by exposing the corpse till the bones only are left, or by temporary burial, or by boiling the body and then separating the bones, or by removing the flesh piecemeal. The custom already existed in palæolithic times, as is proved by quaternary interments at Mentone and other parts of France, as well as in Belgium. The skeleton was wrapped in skins and decorated with shell ornaments, the bones being coloured with some red pigment.[1] This custom was followed in Neolithic times, not only in Egypt, but in Italy, France, and England, as well as in very early places of sepulture in the Cyclades, where even now the poor dig up the bones three years after interment, wash them, and place them in the charnel-house. Among savages the custom is also met with all over the world, in New Guinea, the Philippines, Melanesia, Torres Straits, Savage Island, the Andamans, New Zealand, Patagonia, and other regions of South America, and among several North American tribes; while the custom of exposing the corpse on "towers

[1] Cartailhac, *La France Prehistorique*, p. 99 *seq.*

of silence" by the Parsis, with a later burial of the bones, is doubtless a relic of the practice of dismemberment, though it is now performed in accordance with Parsi laws of ceremonial purity.[1]

With some of these races, as well as among the Australians, Tasmanians, Micronesians, Dyaks, Samoans (who embalm the body), and others, dismemberment is performed in order that the bones may be kept near the living, either as a protective charm, or, more usually, with the idea that the soul may re-enter and animate the dead bones. With the Australians, however, the bones after being carried for a time, are finally interred or placed in a tree. Possibly the earliest practice was to dismember and preserve the bones; then, when it became unnecessary to carry them from place to place, the custom of dismemberment was continued, but now the bones were buried. Be this as it may, the custom is another proof that, with primitive peoples, death is classed together with the phenomena of sleep, swoon, and trance. Thus the Ainos believe that the ghost is still active so long as the body is not completely decomposed. This is in agreement with the Eskimo and Red Indian belief that so long as any fragment of a corpse remains unburnt, it may by magic be revived, as some stories cited have already shown.[2]

[1] De Morgan, *op. cit.* Greenwell, *British Barrows*, p. 17 (English Neolithic Graves). Cartailhac, p. 290 *seq.* Crooke, *J.A.I.*, xxix. 284. Bent, pp. 261, 405. Tombs have been found (probably dating from the end of the stone age), as at Oliaros, too small even for one body, with two skulls wedged together, and the bones of both bodies huddled together. "In death they were not divided!" This undoubtedly points to dismemberment and removal of the flesh before burial, in early Greece.

[2] Campbell, ii. 306, notes an incident in the *Edda* (Dasent's translation, p. 51), where Thor restores his slain goats from their bones, but one revived lame, because his thigh-bone had been broken for the marrow. This is the subject of a curious Saxon peasant drama in Transylvania (E. Gerard, i. 182). *Cf.* note on p. 84, for animals restored by saints. Many races have believed that animals will live

A similar belief is held regarding vampires—vitalised corpses which devour the living—both by the Slavonic peoples and the Celts. When one is discovered and destroyed, the survival of the least fragment will restore the vampire again; this is also believed by the Hindus, Ainos, and North Americans regarding the carcases of cannibal ogres, while among the ancient Scandinavians a sure method of laying a ghost was to burn, impale, or behead the corpse.[1]

The vampire belief is itself but a grisly extension of what must once have been universally held concerning the dead, and of what still survives even where it is thought that the spirit has gone to another world, viz., that the dead man lives on in the grave which is now his home—a belief which is witnessed to by the universal practice of feeding the dead with sacrifices and libations at the grave. Even the Egyptians, with all their elaborate doctrines of another world, thought that the mummy was somehow alive, while the most philosophic modern can hardly divest himself of the idea that the worn casket of flesh and the earthy grave are still the spirit's home. The Eskimo think that any weight laid on the corpse causes the dead man to feel discomfort, while the Hovas of Madagascar, who bury the dead in grottoes, change the position of the corpse from time to time,

again, *e.g.*, Swedish Lapps (Klemm, *Cultur-Geschichte*, iii. 83). Most amusing are some Red Indian tales in which the dead animals, about to be cooked for supper, come alive again, and rush off into the forest. Petitot, pp. 27, 192.

I may note here various creation myths, in which the various parts of a dead monster are changed into sky, heavenly bodies, earth, trees, animals, etc. *American-Indian* instances in Petitot, p. 184; Bancroft, iii. 94; *Hindu*, *Rig-Veda*, x. 90; *Scandinavian*, *Edda*, caps. ii. iii.; *Esthonian*, Kirby, i. 59; *Babylonian*, Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, ch. vi.; *Aino*, Batchelor, 2nd ed., p. 72. *Cf.* the Orphic myth of the soul of man created from the blood of the slain Dionysus.

[1] See pp. 25, 130. *Cf.* also an Australian legend on p. 130.

lest it should be fatigued by lying too long in one position. Thus the practice of inhumation did not free men from the idea that the dead were still alive; and a whole series of folk-tales, Norse, Slavonic, Irish, and Scots, represent the dead man coming *in the body* from the tomb, sometimes devouring the living, sometimes talking and feasting with them.[1] Here is a Russian example. A peasant, passing a lonely churchyard, was met by a stranger, who begged to be taken on his cart. They entered a village; the stranger bade the peasant draw up at the last house. Bolts and locks flew open before him, and both entered the dwelling. On a bench lay two sleepers, whom the stranger struck on the back. The rosy blood began to flow out, and with it he filled a pail and drank till he could drink no more. Then said he, "It begins to grow light, let us return to my dwelling." In a twinkling they were at the churchyard. At that moment the cock crew, and the vampire disappeared just as he was about to drag the peasant into the grave. The men whose blood he had drunk were found dead next morning. An Irish tale is almost an exact variant of this; but in it a girl has to carry a dead man on her back from the grave to a house, where he draws blood from three young men. He mixes this with oatmeal, and gives the girl a share,

[1] Ralston, p. 305. Keightley, p. 73. Douglas, xxi. Curtin, p. 156. In the Finnish legend of Donica the dead girl remains alive after death, because the devil has taken possession of her body, and a magic charm is tied under her arm. When this is removed she falls lifeless. *Cf.* Southey's *Legend of Donica.* Demons take possession of corpses, think the Hindus, Malays, and others, and vitalise them for sinister purposes. In the belief of Servians and Bulgarians, demons occupy the bodies of the dead, who then become vampires. The vampire superstition is mainly found in lands occupied or influenced by the Slavonic race. *Cf.* Ralston, *op. cit.*; Garnett, ii. 168; Bent, pp. 44, 74, 299. It is also found among the Celts and Scandinavians, while a Negro Voodoo belief is curiously like it. See *Folk-Lore*, 1894, p. 297.

which she hides. Then she asks whether there is any cure for the victims. "None," he replies, "but if some of the food had been left, three bits of it in the mouth of each would restore them, and they would never know of their death." After she has carried him back and escaped by the cock's crowing, she is able to resuscitate the youths. Perhaps the early connection of Slavs and Celts, both members of Mr Ripley's Alpine race, in eastern Europe, may account for this and other parallels, not easily matched elsewhere, in their folk-lore.[1]

The Scots examples, mostly in ballad form, are based on a curious belief that if the door of the death-chamber be left ajar the corpse will sit up in bed, grin horribly, and even talk to the living. Weird tales are still told on the Borders of watchers by the dead being stricken with terror by this ghastly revival, and of how a priest or a Presbyterian minister, passing the lonely cottage, exorcised the corpse till it resumed the calm of death.[2] In some ballads, like that of *Young Benjie*, this belief is utilised, and we learn how the corpse of his sweetheart, fair Marjorie, "began to thraw," and told how he had murdered her; in others, *e.g.*, *Lady Anne*, the dead child returns from the grave to reproach the mother who would never own him or her own frailty; while in *The Wife of Usher's Well* a woman entreats heaven to permit her three sons, drowned at sea, to return—"come hame to me, in earthly flesh and blood." Her prayer is answered. The young men come back in the body on Martinmas, they enjoy the feast prepared for them, and a mother's heart is made glad. Then she sits by

[1] Ralston, *Songs of the Russian People*, p. 411. Curtin, p. 156. In a Tuscan tale two witches act in precisely the same way as this Irish vampire, while the victim is revived when the sausage, made of his own blood, touches his lips. Leland, *E.R.R.*, p. 218.

[2] The story is told of the famous Boston of Ettrick, author of *The Fourfold State*.

their bedside and watches them through the night. At cock-crowing each says to the other, "Brother, we must awa!"

> "The cock doth craw, the day doth daw,
> The channerin' worm doth chide;
> Gin we be mist out o' our place,
> A sair pain we maun bide."

And with these words they take a last farewell of the stricken woman. The weird pathos of such ballads, the cry of souls pierced with more than earthly grief, can only be appreciated by those who know the unwillingness of the southern Scot to display outward emotion.[1] With them we may compare a Pawnee tale, in which a dead mother returns to her husband and children at his earnest request. Here the condition of her return is that no one shall lift the curtain of her sleeping place for four days.[2] Throughout West Africa, too, there is a current belief in the *Uvengwa*, "the self-resurrected spirit and body of a dead human being," with certain of his bodily parts changed, *e.g.*, the eye is in the forehead and the feet are webbed. It is much feared, and is occasionally confounded with the awful human Leopard, thirsting for human flesh.[3]

The Dead Rider ballad cycle, known to every one through Burger's *Lenore*, is connected with both the Slavonic and Scots series, and is another example of this branch of the subject. Its theme is that a dead man summons some one dearly loved, child, or lover, or wife, who rides with him on horseback, ignorant

[1] These ballads will be found in Scott's *Minstrelsy*. See also Douglas, *Scottish Fairy Tales*, xxi.

[2] Grinnell, p. 129. In the sequel the wife disappears when another of the man's wives calls her a ghost. In another tale a man would have recovered his dead bride if he had refrained from mentioning her name, p. 193.

[3] Nassau, pp. 71, 201.

that he is really dead. Usually, as in the Icelandic version, the living rider is carried to the churchyard and only escapes being taken into the dead man's grave with great difficulty. Such a story exists even among savages—a genuine Araucanian legend telling how a dead lover returned to demand his betrothed and carry her off to his grave.[1] While all such stories suggest the horror and fear which the living have for the dead, one and all seem to insist on that firm belief of the living even in presence of the beloved dead—*'Tis death is dead, not he!* In other tales, *e.g.*, those of the Cinderella cycle and in some of the Youngest Son group, the same belief is again exemplified; the dead parent acts from the grave and assists the living.[2]

We see, then, a great many facts which point to the belief that the dead man is not really dead, that the corpse or any part of it may be reanimated, while to a practice of dismembering the body, dating at least from late palæolithic times, we may trace the central incident of many folk-tales of this class.[3] If the dead lived again there was no reason why the dismembered corpse could not be restored also, and to some primitive theory of the purpose of dismemberment now lost to us we may trace stories which told how a dismembered corpse had been restored to life. The primitive form of the story is doubtless found in such examples as the American-Indian, Carib, or Polynesian tales. Other groups, more elaborate, *e.g.*, those of the Covetous Companion or the Ogre's

[1] Several versions exist. Dozon, p. 251, cites an Albanian one; for the Icelandic, see Arnason, i. 173, and for an English variant, *County Folk-Lore: Suffolk*, p. 81. The Araucanian story is referred to by Mr Keane, in his *Man: Past and Present*, citing Dr Lenz.

[2] See pp. 232, 267.

[3] Mr Romilly gives a case where some *esprits forts* in New Guinea killed some white men to see if they would bleed when speared, or if they would *come alive again*. Obviously they held the belief that revival was possible, as indeed we have already seen.

Daughter, must have been based on these by the clever story-teller of a far-distant past. The *raison d'être* of the missing member is dimly adumbrated in the Osiris myth with its North American and Australian parallels, and is probably founded on some primitive idea concerning the powers of generation, still hidden from our search. On the other hand, the idea of the missing member may simply be based on the actual loss of some of the bones before interment in the grave or deposition in the ossuary. In some neolithic barrows it is found that parts of the skeleton are wanting, and Canon Greenwell suggests that "one or more bones might be lost in the interval between the removal of the flesh and their final burying."[1] Such an occasional loss would readily be made to furnish a new episode in stories of the restoration of the dismembered.

As in the first series of stories treated of in this chapter, it is quite likely that the powers of the magician, real or feigned, assisted the already existing belief. Credible witnesses record the marvellous powers of Pawnee medicine-men, who make the most ghastly wounds in their "subjects," and then restore them almost instantaneously, and it is certain that they possess most marvellous healing powers. Similar powers, real or feigned, are also asserted of Mongol shamans, one of whom Richard Johnson saw stab himself with a sword, then make the sword red hot and pierce his body with it, the point protruding from his back, so that Johnson could touch it; while we know that ancient Egyptian magicians claimed to be able to cut a man's head off and then restore it. We have seen how youths at initiation are made to die and live again; but sometimes they are said to be cut in pieces and restored, or are made to witness similar treatment of others, as in

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

Australia, Ceram, and Fiji. In these last instances the medicine-men only make-believe; but in all cases, whether pretended or real, it is obvious that they would get the credit of such feats as our stories bear witness to.[1]

(3) Another form of early man's belief in continued existence after death is borne witness to by other groups of tales. The first of these includes some of the Cinderella cycle, in which the dead mother (who sometimes helps her child from the grave as already noted) takes the form of an animal. I have shown in a later chapter how the most primitive form of the story made the actual animal the child's mother.[2] But as time went on the story was influenced by the belief that men might assume some other form both before and after death, and hence the animal mother was explained as having been thus transformed either at death or before death by means of sorcery. In Corsican, Russian, Serbian, and other tales[3] the cow is expressly stated to be the child's mother transformed; but mostly the animal is introduced without this explanation, and it is only from its care of the child both before and after death that we gather the relationship. The usual form of the tale is that the girl, ill-treated by her stepmother, is secretly fed by the animal. This is discovered, and the stepmother orders it to be killed. But before dying the animal tells the girl to bury its bones (or, in some cases, Roman, Chilian, directs her to look in its carcase for some magical object, which produces rich

[1] For the Pawnee evidence, see Grinnell, p. 377 *seq.* *Mongols*, Keane, *Man: Past and Present*, p. 289; Hakluyt, p. 317 (1809). *Egyptians*, Petrie, i. 28; Budge, *Egyptian Magic*, pp. 19, 24. *Australia*, *J.A.I.*, xiv. 358; xvi. 47. *Ceram*, Frazer, ii. 354. *Fiji* *J.A.I.*, xiv. 22.

[2] See p. 233.

[3] Ortoli, p. 81. Ralston, p. 260. Mijatovich, p. 58.

clothing, etc.).[1] What follows varies in different tales. Sometimes the girl gets food, riches, dresses, or help by going to the grave where the animal's bones are buried. This occurs in the Scots tale of Rashin Coatie, and in Georgian, Serbian, and Kashmir variants. These stories are linked to others where help is given from the grave of a dead parent.[2] But a Kabyle version connects both together. Here the mother is dead and buried, but the children have a favourite cow (presumably the mother herself), and when it is ordered to be killed they weep on the grave of their mother, who bids them bury its entrails there. They do so, and from the grave spring two breasts, one of which supplies honey, the other butter.[3]

In other cases, after the animal or the mother is buried a tree springs from the grave which, in turn, assists the girl with advice and help, as in Finnish and Russian versions, or in a Deccan story and in the Indian story of Punchkin, feeds the children. This is found out by the stepmother, who cuts it down, whereupon milk flows from a cistern near the grave.[4] More in line with our stories of dismemberment are Gaelic and Indian variants. The Gaelic version makes the sheep say, "They are going to kill me; but steal thou my skin, and gather my bones and roll them in my skin, and I will come alive again." And so it happens, only the girl forgot to put the little hoofs in, and the sheep was lame when it came alive. But this did not hinder it from helping

[1] Busk, p. 31. *F.L.J.*, iii. 31.

[2] *Folk-Lore*, i. 289. Wardrop, p. 63. Mijatovich, p. 58. Knowles, p. 127. *Cf.* p. 368.

[3] Riviére, p. 66. In an Esthonian variant the mother bids the girl plant a tree on her grave. The tree then gives her advice. Kirby, ii. 4.

[4] Schreck, *Finn. März.*, ix. Ralston, 260. *Old Deccan Days*, p. 1.

her. The bones, horns, and skin of the cow are buried in the Indian story, and afterwards revive. When the cow is to be killed it expressly orders the child not to eat its flesh—a tabu quite explainable on the theory that it is really the child's mother.[1] In all these stories we have the animal acting as the fairy godmother of Perrault's story. But the mother lives again as a cow, who, when killed, is still active, or actually comes alive again, or changes into some other form.

A group of stories concerning a magic pipe which, when played, reveals a ghastly tragedy, may be illustrated by a Russian story. A peasant had three daughters, whom he asked what he would bring them from the market. The youngest chose a little silver plate and a little silver apple. When she obtained these, she said, "Roll, little apple, on the silver plate, and show me towns and fields, and forests and seas, lofty mountains and beautiful skies." The elder sisters, jealous of the girl *qui voit tant de choses*, like La Fontaine's hero, and anxious to obtain her magic mirror, killed and buried her beneath a birch tree, telling their father that she was lost. But soon after a shepherd cut a branch from the tree to make a pipe, and as soon as he had made it the pipe said, "I was killed for the sake of my little silver plate and my little apple." The father accompanied the shepherd to the tree and dug up his daughter's body, and now the pipe said, "You will not bring me to life again till you fetch water from the Czar's well." With this she was restored to life; the Czar married her; and she freely forgave her unworthy sisters.[2]

The distribution of this story is very wide; but in some variants the pipe is made from a bone of the

[1] Campbell, ii. 306 (a curious instance of the lost limb. *Cf.* p. 98). *Calcutta Review*, li. 121.

[2] Naake, p. 170. *Cf.* an Esthonian variant, Kirby, ii. 43.

murdered person found protruding from the grave (Tyrol, Sicily, Naples, Spain, France, Germany).[1] Here, of course, the bone is regarded as still animated by the spirit of the dead, in accordance with a widespread belief that the soul resides in some particular part of the body, frequently a bone. This is believed by the Maoris, who think the backbone especially sacred because the soul is in the spinal marrow, and by the Caribs, who take a bone from a dead man's grave, and preserve it carefully because the ghost is able to speak through it and assist the owner. Many races, too, preserve the bones of the dead in order that the ghost may never be far away from the living.[2] But in many other tales (Tuscan, Portuguese, Spanish, Catalan, Polish, Transylvanian), the pipe is not merely made out of reeds or a tree growing beside the grave, but the tree springs from the grave itself (as in some of the Cinderella stories), and is, therefore, either a reincarnation of the buried victim or the home of his spirit.[3] In other variants the victim is found still living when the grave is opened; we have already seen other instances of this. Many versions of the story come from different parts of Africa — the Dahoman variant is nearest the European. Here a mushroom grows from the hero's grave, and is about to be plucked by his mother, when it tells her how he was murdered by his brother.[4] As told among the Yaos of East Africa, the story runs that the brothers envied a piece of cloth which could speak, and killed their brother for it. The cloth then identified itself with him and said, "They killed me, their youngest

[1] Schneller, No. 51. Pitrè, No. 79. Crane, p. 40. *Trad. pop. espan.*, i. 196. Carnoy, p. 236. Grimm, No. 28. *Cf.* the Scots ballad of *Binnorie*, with Child's notes and the variants cited by him, *Eng. and Scott. Ballads*, i.; iii. 499 (1886).

[2] Shortland, p. 107. Tylor, *P.C.*, ii. 151.

[3] Gubernatis, *Novelline*, No. 20. Coelho, No. 40. Caballero, ii. 29. *Rondallayre*, i. 33. Wozcicki, p. 105. Haltrich, No. 42.

[4] Ellis, *Yoruba*, p. 134.

brother, because they coveted my beautiful cloth."[1] But the Basuto, Zulu, and Zanzibar versions tell how the crime was discovered by a bird which, after the murder, denounced the brothers. The bird is a reincarnation of the victim,[2] or possibly the soul of the deceased, in accordance with a widespread belief that the soul is a bird. In one Basuto version the heart tells the story; it is called a bird, and in the sequel the murdered man is restored to life; while in another the heart is a bird, and when its wings are pulled off, the girl who was killed steps out of the feathers.[3] I shall refer to a third Basuto tale here, as it has some connection with this group of stories as well as with those of the Unnatural Mother. Mosimodi made use of her parents' magic pot; her sister informed the parents, but told her that their mother was not angry. As a result of this lie Mosimodi was not watchful of events, and was killed and ground to powder by her mother, who threw the dust into a pool. There a crocodile moulded the powder into Mosimodi's form, and she continued to live with him beneath the waters. Three times her sister's water-pot remained fixed to the earth when she went to draw water, and as often Mosimodi appeared to her, singing the history of her experiences, after which she beat her sister and soiled the water. The third time her father witnessed all, and begged her to come home, but she returned to the water. However, the crocodile sent her home after she had been ransomed with many cattle, saying that if she was ill-treated again she must return to him, because he loved her.[4]

A third group of stories is very elaborate, and

[1] Steere, *J.A.I.*, i. 151.

[2] Casalis, p. 339. Callaway, p. 217. With these stories should be compared those of the Unnatural Mother cycle, p. 295.

[3] Jacottet, pp. 52, 99. See p. 129.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 232. The Magic Pot is tabu to the children, like the Bird that made Milk, see p. 321.

contains different types of a very ancient incident, which occurs in the Egyptian tale of the Two Brothers (see p. 127). After recovering his heart, Bata transformed himself into an Apis bull, which his unfaithful wife caused to be killed. Two drops of the blood fell on either side of the door, and from them grew up two persea-trees, which told the woman they were her husband. She ordered them to be cut down, but a splinter flew into her mouth and caused her to bear a son. The son was Bata himself, who, when he came to the throne, put his wife-mother to death. Incidents almost identical are found in various types of folk-tales; possibly all have sprung from this Egyptian version. It was a doctrine of Egyptian theology that the god renewed himself in his son, as Osiris did in Horus, the son being simply the father alive once more, as appears in the formula attached to divine beings, "husband of his mother."[1]

In the stories of the first type there is a faithless wife, or else a female enemy of the hero who changes himself into a horse, which the woman causes to be killed. The blood, in a Russian variant, becomes a a goat, which is also killed; from its head, or from the horse's blood in the other variants, a tree springs up. When this is cut down the chips turn into a fish or duck, which, when it is pursued, jumps on shore and takes the form of the hero once more, who then metes out his vengeance. Among the variants of this group there are Russian, Hungarian, Lettish, Roumanian, Hessian, French, and Italian.[2]

A second type makes the victims the children of a wife calumniated by a jealous woman, who takes her place. Trees spring from their graves; the woman

[1] *Records of the Past*, ii. 137. See my *Comparative Theology*, p. 90.

[2] Rambaud, *La Russie Epique*, p. 377. Wolf, *Schœnsten Märchen*, i. 229. Chodzko, p. 368. *Ausland*, 1858, p. 118. Wolf, p. 394. *Cabinet des Fées*, xxxi. 233. Basile, No. 49. It is significant that in the Russian variant the wife's name is Cleopatra.

has them cut down and made into beds. During the night one plank says, "It is the wicked stepmother who sleeps on me," and the other replies, "It is our dear father who sleeps on me." The woman overhears and burns the planks; two sparks leap into the barley which a sheep is eating, and it then gives birth to two lambs. These are killed by the stepmother, but their entrails, washed in the river, turn into the children. In a Russian variant the true mother eats the entrails and then gives birth to sons, who recount the truth to their father.[1]

In the third type a wife is killed by a woman, who then personates her, or by her husband's second wife. She becomes a fish (Greek), flower (Deccan), or bird (Annam), which is destroyed by the false wife. It then becomes a tree, which in the Greek variant is cut down. From a chip of the tree, or from its fruit in the other versions, a girl emerges, who takes the form of the murdered woman.[2]

[1] Gubernatis, *Z.M.*, i. 412. There are Wallachian (Schott, No. 8), Serbian (Mijatovich, p. 227), Hungarian (Gaal and Stier, No. 9), Gipsy (Miklosisch, p. 277), Transylvanian (Haltrich, No. 1), Roumanian (*Ausland*, 1858, 118), and Indian (Miss Stokes, No. 2), variants.

[2] Hahn, No. 49. Frere, No. 6. Landes, No. 22. *Cf.* an Indian story, where a bamboo springs from the bones of a girl killed and eaten by her brothers. The girl comes nightly out of the bamboo. *Folk-Lore*, v. 85, and a Greek version of the Jealous Sisters group, p. 359 *infra*. Girls emerge from citrons or oranges in Greek or Italian tales after the hero has plucked and opened them—Garnett, ii. 18; Crane, p. 340.

Many variants of a story occur in which a woman takes a bone or part of a corpse from a grave and cooks it for supper, or steals its clothes from the grave. For some nights in succession the dead man comes and demands his property, and at last strangles the thief, who denies all knowledge of the matter. *Venetian*, Bernoni, *Tradizioni*, p. 125; *German*, Grimm, iii. 267; *Catalan*, *Rondallayre*, ii. 180; *French*, Bladé, No. 7; Cosquin, ii. 76; *English*, Halliwell, pp. 25, 148; *Italian*, Crane, p. 238. In Bladé's version the ghost carries off a child who has eaten his leg for medicine. Perhaps such tales contain a survival of the idea that killing and eating an animal will cause it to avenge itself on the eater. Hence savages frequently pray to the animal to forgive them for taking its life.

Two widespread opinions concerning the dead are combined in these stories. When a tree or plant springs from the grave of the victim, or from any part of him, the identity of tree and victim is evident. So a Dyak told Low that a bamboo bush had been a man, whose ghost revealed the identity to his wife, and that a man who had dared to cut off one of its branches had died. Offerings were made to this bush.[1] Now Mr Grant Allen has argued (and these folk-tales, though he does not refer to them, confirm his theory) that "whatever comes up on or out of a grave is counted as representative of the ghost within it."[2] The barrow or mound, carefully tended, and on which sacrifices were left and libations of blood poured out, became a fertile piece of ground, conspicuous for wealth of vegetation. Any tree growing there was assumed to be tenanted by the departed spirit, or to be actually the dead man himself living once more as a tree.[3] This readily explains why the tree so persistently appears in all these various groups of stories as identical with the dead person. And it is confirmed by the common belief (held by English peasant and Samoan), that the tree cries or bleeds when it is cut. So the bushes which grew on the barrow of Polydorus bled when Æneas plucked them up, like Dante's trees in the *Inferno*. Actual instances of the belief that sacred trees are the dead transformed, or are the habitation of the ghost, are found in Australia, the Philippine Islands, among the Damaras, and the Santals, who hold that the good are transformed into trees at death.[4]

[1] Ling Roth, i. 265.

[2] *Evolution of the Idea of God*, p. 148.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 147. *Cf.* also Tree-Worship in the same author's edition of the *Attis* of Catullus.

[4] *J.A.I.*, 1874, p. 175. G. Allen, p. 140. Galton, p. 201. Crooke, ii. 90. Legend, myth, ballad, and folk-tale from every European country, as well as from India, China, Polynesia, Madagascar, Guiana, Australia, North America, etc., tell how a tree or plant has

On the other hand, when the dead person reappears in various animal forms in our stories, this is to be explained as the reflection of another belief, viz., that the dead may reappear as an animal. Apart altogether from the philosophic or religious doctrine of transmigration held by Hindus, Buddhists, Mohammedans, or by ancient Egyptians, many of the lower races believe in it as one form of their many-sided conception of the future life. Sometimes this is connected with totemism, as when it is thought that at death a man assumes the form of his clan totem —buffalo, deer, snake, etc. Or, as with Zulus, Kafirs, and Dravidian aborigines, house-haunting animals like the snake are firmly believed to be reincarnations of the departed.[1] Originating, doubtless, in these ideas, the belief in transmigration into animals either of all, or of certain individuals, or of the wicked, is found widely extended. Ancestors reappear as deer or cobras among the Dyaks, as lizards in New Zealand, as lions in East Africa, as fire-flies in the Solomon Islands, as birds, lizards, toads, crocodiles, in South America; while Eskimo, American-Indians, and Polynesians hold similar, though less emphatic, views.[2] Re-birth of a dead man or woman in the next child born in the village is also held by

grown up from a human body or from part of it, buried in the ground. The poetical form of the idea is that of trees growing from the graves of two lovers—

> "Out of her breast there sprang a rose,
> And out of his a briar;
> They grew till they grew unto the church-top,
> And there they tied in a true lover's knot."

[1] See my *Religion: Its Origin and Forms*, pp. 43, 51, 76.

[2] *Dyaks*, Boyle, *Borneo*, p. 229; Brooke, *Sarawak*, i. 151; *New Zealand*, Angas, *Australia and New Zealand*, ii. 67; *East Africa*, Livingstone, *Miss. Trav.*, ii. 160; *Solomon Islands*, Guppy, *S.I.*, p. 54; *South America*, Darwin, *Voy. of Beagle*, p. 243; Brett, p. 75; *Eskimo*, Rink, p. 36; *Amer.-Indians*, Bancroft, iii. 521; *Polynesians*, Gill, p. 32.

Americans, north and south, by Ainos, Negroes, Laplanders, and Australians. Moreover we find, even among the peasantry of Europe, sporadic instances, survivals of earlier beliefs akin to those of these primitive races, of the reappearance of the dead in some animal form.[1] To all such ideas, so widely prevalent and so deeply-rooted, may be attributed the folk-tale incident of a man or woman not only being transformed into an animal, but actually reappearing after death as a bull or cow, a horse, a duck, or a fish, or being re-born of a woman in some extraordinary way. The incidents are, in effect, the simple and unexaggerated reflections of actually existing beliefs.

[1] See Bent, p. 114; Leland, *E.R.R.*, p. 178 *seq.*; Cosquin, ii. 14 (Spain); Thorpe, *N.M.*, ii. 94; iii. 161 (Germany and Sweden); *Choice Notes*, p. 61 (England).

CHAPTER V

THE SEPARABLE SOUL

In a whole series of folk-tales there is found the idea that someone's life, heart, or soul, may be separated from him for purposes of safety, and that so long as it remains concealed, its owner is immortal. This is, as we shall see, the reflection of a working belief of primitive man as of many present-day savages. It is a striking example of savage psychology, while, like the conceptions of the Water of Life and the Dismembered, it shows how unwilling early man was to believe himself mortal. This idea of the Separable Soul is closely connected with another, that of the Life-token, which occurs in scores of folk-tales. The Life-token is some object chosen by the hero, or born with him, or which has been in vital contact with him, and which shows in some unmistakable way—withering, falling, bleeding, that he is in danger. The connecting link between the Separable Soul and the Life-token is found in tales where a person's life is wrapped up with the existence of some object, talisman, animal, lighted candle, etc. This idea and that of the Life-token are, in fact, extensions of the Separable Soul conception, though they may also be dependent on the belief in sympathetic magic, by which whatever is done to a part is equally done to the whole though separated from it, and *vice versâ*.

I shall, however, give some examples of these

kindred ideas first, before passing on to stories illustrating the main subject of this chapter.

Since the subject has been so exhaustively treated by Mr Hartland in his *Legend of Perseus*, it seems superfluous to cite examples of the Life-token idea, and I only do so to illustrate the nature of the belief. In many of the tales which belong to the Perseus cycle a woman, having eaten a certain fish, gives birth to the hero and his brothers. At the same time the fish's scales or bones, having been placed in the garden, produce bushes which are their life-tokens, withering when they are in danger. Or in other cases the life-token is the fish's blood, or one of its bones which sweats blood; but in all it is directly connected with the supernatural birth of the brothers. In what is probably the more primitive form of the idea, some particular object chosen voluntarily by the hero gives warning of his condition. When the brothers separate they stick a knife into a tree, which will turn rusty (German, Suabian, Tyrolese, Lettish); or sweat blood, if harm happens to its owner (Russian); or the knife thrust daily into a laurel by the brother at home makes the tree flow with blood when the hero dies (Breton).[1] This voluntary choice of a life-token occurs frequently outside the Perseus cycle. Thus, in the Dancing-Water cycle the seekers usually leave behind them a life-token—an apple which "changes" when its owner is in trouble, or rots when he is dead (Basque); a shirt which turns black (Greek); a ring which tarnishes (Sicilian); or a knife which is stained with blood (Arabian).[2] A Mongol tale (of Indian origin) tells how six youths each planted a tree as they separated; at the end of a certain time, the withering of any of these trees would show that its owner was suffering.[3] The prince of a

[1] For convenience, I give the references in order as they occur in the *Legend of Perseus*. See i. 17, 67, 56, 42; 44; 52.

[2] See p. 59. [3] Busk, p. 106.

Russian tale goes to seek his wife, carried off by Koshchei the Deathless, leaving with his sisters his silver spoon, fork, and snuff-box, which turn black when he falls a victim to the demon.[1] In another of the Koshchei series the connection of the life-token with the hero is still more obvious, for he puts some drops of his blood in a glass. These turn black when he is about to die.[2] Such life-tokens, as well as many others, occur in various folk-tales; their nature differing according to the taste or imagination of the inventor and his audience. From a lower civilisation the Kafir story of Sikulume may be cited. Sikulume had left his bird in the hut of the cannibals from whom he and his companions had escaped. He determined to return for it, and sticking his assegai in the ground, said, "If it stands still, you will know I am safe; if it shakes, you will know I am running; if it falls down, you will know I am dead." Life-tokens are found also in Basuto and Melanesian tales.[3]

In such stories it is not explicitly said that the hero's life is wrapped up with the life-token, but as the next group of tales shows, it is evident that this is the underlying idea. This is illustrated at a sufficiently remote period by the classical stories of Meleager and of the son of Silvia. At the birth of Meleager the Fates pointed to a burning brand, and said his life would last so long as it was unconsumed. His mother, having extinguished it, hid it in a chest, but one day, enraged at her son's conduct, she took it out and threw it on the fire, when he died in great agony.[4] This is paralleled by the Roman story of the son whom

[1] Ralston, p. 91. [2] Ralston, p. 102.

[3] Theal, p. 77. Jacottet, pp. 110, 211, 266. See p. 282 *infra*.

[4] Hyginus, cap. 171, 174. In the mediæval romance of Ogier the Dane, when Morgan le Fay releases him from fairyland to fight the paynim, she gives him a brand which is to be preserved from burning, for so long as it is unconsumed, so long will his life last.

Silvia had by Mars. The god gave her a spear with which the child's fate was bound up. Years after, he slew her brothers, and in anger she burned the spear, when the youth expired.[1] A modern Greek tale shows clearly that the Life-token has something more than an accidental connection with its owner's life. A dervish tells a queen, who has three sons, to plant as many pumpkins, and that in their fruit will reside her sons' strength. The eldest son turns ill, and it is found that his pumpkin is gone. So it happens to the second son, but both he and his brother are too weak to pursue the negro who has stolen them. The youngest son does so, slays the negro, and recovers the fruit, after which his brothers become strong again.[2] Similarly, the lives of the Spanish Rose-queen and her sisters are bound up with three lighted candles. Rose-queen has taken the place of the true queen, and caused her eyes to be put out. The queen's daughter, guided by St Joseph, enters the secret chamber of the enchanted castle where the candles are kept. Two of these she extinguishes, and two of the sisters fall dead. She carries home the third, and asks her father to choose between his true wife and Rose-queen. He chooses the former, and the maiden tells him to blow out the candle, causing the death of Rose-queen.[3]

From several Oriental tales we gather that a man's life may depend upon a talisman or necklace which he wears, and in fact it is "a common belief that good and bad fortune, and life itself, can be made to depend on its being removed from the wearer's neck."[4] Folk-tale and actual belief in this case coincide, and in both we note the influence of the doctrine of sympathetic magic, that whatever has been in contact with a man can influence his personality. A Kashmir tale relates that Panj Phul would not part with her

[1] Plutarch, *Parallela*, p. 26.
[2] Legrand, p. 191.
[3] *F.L.J.*, ii. 249.
[4] Knowles, p. 467.

necklace, because it contained the secret of her life and was a charm against danger and sickness.[1] A Mongol Khan lost his life-preserving talisman, and all the soothsayers of his kingdom could not find it. At last a poor man, pretending to be a diviner, told where it was, because he had seen it fall from the Khan's neck. Another Khan was less fortunate. He bade a poor wretch steal his talisman, or else he would put him to death. In spite of all precautions and guards this Eastern Master Thief succeeded, at the same time subjecting the guards to various indignities. The Khan, forgetting that the man still held his talisman, ordered his instant execution, when the thief promptly dashed it against a stone, "and, behold, the blood poured out of the nose of the Khan, until he died."[2] The life of an Indian prince is still more elaborately secured, for it is bound up with the life of a boal-fish. In its heart is a box, in the box a golden necklace, which is the prince's life. The king's second wife discovered this secret, and being jealous of the boy, had the fish caught. That moment Dalim felt ill, and when the necklace was removed from the fish he died. His body was shut up in a lonely palace. Meanwhile the jealous queen wore the necklace by day and put it off at night, and thus each night Dalim was restored to life only to die next morning. A girl, of whom it had been prophesied that she would marry a dead bridegroom, discovered him. He fell in love with her at first sight, and said he was the dead bridegroom, without explaining how this could be. Next morning the girl was naturally astonished to find a dead man by her side, and still more astonished when, at evening, he came back to life. For seven years this went on, till Dalim's wife, disguised as a barber, recovered the neck-

[1] Knowles, p. 467. A similar story is told in the Deccan, *cf. Old Deccan Days.*

[2] Busk, pp. 55, 133.

lace from the jealous queen, who was then buried alive.[1]

Among savages the idea is a familiar one. The Cabindas, an African tribe, bind a mirror round the image of their household divinities for purposes of divination. Quenquea, king of the Remba, had one of these mirrors, and refused to part with it, telling Mr Winwood Reade that if the glass were to break he would instantly die.[2] Probably he would have died, just as the savage who finds he has broken a tabu dies out of sheer fright. With the American-Indians the external life idea takes various forms. The Dené Hare-skins relate that Etwa-éké, their mythical evil one, had a stone hatchet, armed with which none could overcome him. Without it he was like other men. At last he was slain and burned, when his hatchet came forth from the ashes and resuscitated him. He was thus immortal so long as the hatchet remained intact.[3] Among other races we find, as an actual working belief, that a man's personality, life, or strength is bound up with some external object. Conversely, among the Samoyedes of Tomsk, each man has an idol god which, at the death of its worshipper, is supposed to die too, and, at all events, is thrown into the river.[4] The Arunta of Central Australia have a curious, though not uncommon, idea that conception takes place independently. It occurs, they think, through an ancestral spirit entering into a woman, so that when a child is born, he or she is a reincarnation of that spirit. Now each spirit has a sacred stone called a churinga, which it drops on the ground on entering the woman. This churinga, or a wooden one representing it when it cannot be found, is placed in the Ernatalunga or cave of sacred things,

[1] Day, p. 1.

[2] Reade, *Savage Africa*, p. 542. *Cf.* the popular idea of ill-luck following the breaking of a mirror.

[3] Petitot, p. 218.

[4] Abercromby, *Pre- and Proto-Historic Finns*, i. 158.

and only looked at by its owner on the most solemn occasions. It is in fact more or less bound up with his life, if it does not contain his soul. Thus when a man is ill he sends for his churinga, scrapes a little of it off, mixes the powder with water, and drinks it. The mixture strengthens him, because he absorbs the essence of the stone endowed with his own or rather his spirit-incarnation's attributes. If he carries it when fighting, he obtains courage and accuracy of aim, at the same time depriving his opponent of these qualities. If it comes to grief, though the man does not die like the Khan with his talisman, he expects ill luck; while all churinga are tabu to women, who are not even allowed to see their own.[1] Among the people of Mota, Melanesia, a lizard, snake, or stone is selected, and becomes a man's *tamaniu*. The man's life is bound up with it and with its safety; if it dies, or gets broken, or lost, the man will die. The choice of a *tamaniu* is made by placing in a heap the herbs from which a special drink has been made; the first living thing seen in or on the heap becomes the *tamaniu*.[2]

We have seen how, in European folk-tales, a tree is a common life-token. Among the Tasmanians it was usual to select a tree as representing the person who chose it. It was regarded as their inviolable property, at all times to be held sacred.[3] The Ainu have a similar custom. When a child is born his father makes an "inao" out of a willow, setting it up in a stand made of reeds. It is regarded as the child's guardian, is implored to give him long life, while the child, when grown up, worships it. The belief is that the life of an Ainu is bound up with this willow, which he calls his "backbone." A man made one of soft wood which rotted and fell down. Soon after, its owner died. Hence, if an inao is seen to be rotting,

[1] Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes*, p. 132 *seq.*
[2] Codrington, p. 251.
[3] Ling Roth, p. 60.

it should be carefully burned and a new one set up. As long as its owner lives, an inao exercises strong influence over his life and personal comfort.[1] The custom of connecting the life of a child with that of a tree is found in various parts of Africa, in the Pacific Islands, and in the Malay Archipelago. With the Papuans and the people of Gaboon and the Cameroons, if the tree dies or is cut down it is believed that the child will die. Elsewhere, as in Sierra Leone, Calabar, among the Maoris and the Dyaks, misfortune is sure to follow in such a case. This custom must have been common among the ancestors of many European nations, for it is occasionally found as a fossil among the peasantry in England, France, Germany, Italy, and Russia.[2]

These examples, taken along with the actual use made of the custom in folk-tales, show that the Life-token is, in reality, the life itself, through that subtle bond of connection which the pseudo-science of primitive minds imagines to exist between things which have once been in contact, or which may merely have been linked together in thought. Hence if an enemy get hold of a man's nail-clippings or hair-clippings, or any such unconsidered trifles, he can work him deadly harm through them. Possibly for the same reason, a woman in the Swan Maiden group of stories is subject to her male captor just so long as he can retain her feather dress.[3] At all events we

[1] Batchelor, pp. 86, 93, 99, 235.

[2] For references, see Ploss, *Das Kind*, i. 78; Frazer, iii. 391-3. Reinach, "La Chêne dans la Médecine populaire" (*L'Anthropologie*, iv. 33), points out that in various parts of France, the sapling through whose split trunk a rickety child is passed in order to heal it, is afterwards regarded as bound up with its life. To cut it down would place the child's life in peril, and render the person who did so liable to take the disease himself.

[3] *Cf.* p. 347 *infra*. A large collection of Swan Maiden tales is given by Hartland, *Science of Fairy Tales*, ch. 10, 11. *Cf.* Baring-Gould, p. 561 *seq.*

see some connection between the hair-clipping theory and the Swan Maiden's feather dress in a Micmac story, where a man captures a sea maid by obtaining her hair-string, which was her charm or life, and without which she could not live.[1]

By a natural transition we are now led on to a group of tales belonging to this cycle, in which the hair plays an important part as the seat of life or strength. The classical story of Nisus, king of Megara, tells how his fate was bound up with a purple hair in his head. His daughter, the lover of Minos of Crete, his enemy, cut the hair out while her father slept, so that he fell an easy victim in the next fight. Equally treacherous was Comœtho, daughter of Pterelaus, to whom Poseidon had given a golden hair which made him immortal.[2] These classical legends are repeated in the folk-tales of modern Greece. To take one example out of many, a hero has overcome the Turkish Agha, but cannot kill him. His friend the stork knows the reason why, and proceeds to pull a white hair out of the magician's black head-covering. On this hair depended his life, and he immediately expired.[3] A curious turn is given to the idea in a Servian story, where a red hair cut by a peasant from a girl's head is sold to the king, and reveals "the story of many marvellous secrets of nature, and of things that had happened since the creation of the world."[4] This red hair is evidently at bottom the life-hair, but has become a kind of magic mirror. Hair as a life-token is found among the Eskimo. Kujanguak is in great danger, but finally escapes. Meanwhile, his mother has missed a lock of hair, which is of bad omen for her son. Soon after it appears again in its proper place on her forehead,

[1] Leland, p. 282. For other uses of the hair-string, especially in Australia, see Crawley, p. 108.

[2] Hyginus, cap. 198. Apollodorus, ii. 4 *seq.*

[3] Garnett, ii. 175. [4] Naake, p. 41.

and she now knows that he is safe.[1] A story from Sumatra is so like the Greek variant as to make one ask whether it is original. A Nias chief was captured by his enemies, who found they could not kill him. But his wife informed them that his life was bound up with a hair on his head as hard as copper wire. His death followed as soon as this hair was plucked out.[2] The hair incident in the Hebrew story of Samson and Delilah may be compared, and it is paralleled by one of Hahn's Greek tales, where a man's mother pulls out three golden hairs in which his strength lies. He becomes as weak as water, and falls an easy victim to his enemies.[3]

I now proceed to cite various tales in which, so to speak, we see the process of hiding one's life at work. The classical instance is, of course, the ancient Egyptian story of the Two Brothers, which contains both the incident of the Life-token and that of the Separable Soul. It is found in a papyrus of the fourteenth century B.C., but in whole or in part is probably of much older date. Bata, having been unjustly accused, like Joseph, by his brother Anpu's wife, fled when Anpu sought his life. He was able to vindicate his innocence, but to protect himself the better, he took his heart out of his body and hid it in the flower of an acacia-tree, so that it could only fall if the tree were cut down. He told Anpu that if this happened he must come in search of his heart and seek it, even if it were for seven years. His death would be revealed to Anpu by the beer in his vessel at home beginning to boil. They now took leave of each other, and a wife having been made for Bata by the god Noum, he told her the secret of his life. A

[1] Rink, p. 44. The Eskimo believe that things belonging to the absent can, by certain signs, announce their death or danger.

[2] Frazer, iii. 386, quoting *Allgemeine Missions—Zeitschrift*, xi. 453.

[3] Hahn, i. 217. *Cf.* many tales in which a girl's hair floating down a stream and found by a man causes him to fall in love with her.

lock of her hair was carried down the river and taken to the Pharaoh, who bade search to be made for its owner. She was found, and became the Pharaoh's wife, advising him to cut down the acacia tree, thus causing Bata's death. This was done; the beer began to boil; and Anpu set out on the quest of Bata's heart. For three years he sought it, and then, as Bata had directed him, placed it in water. As it absorbed the water the mummy of Bata trembled and looked at Anpu. Then he gave Bata the water to drink. With it he swallowed his heart, and became as he had been before.[1]

The incident of the separable heart need not have been borrowed by the early Egyptians, but may have originated with them independently. The heart, rather than the soul or life is mentioned, because in Egyptian belief, the heart was the fountain of the blood, and therefore the life. For this reason the heart, removed from the corpse in the process of mummification, was replaced by an artificial one, which, however, was liable to be carried off by a half-human, half-bestial monster called the Destroyer of Hearts.[2] A Hottentot story, in which the treatment

[1] Bata was subsequently changed into an Apis bull, then into two persea-trees, a splinter of which fell into the mouth of his wife, of whom he was reborn, p. 113 *supra*. Mr Flinders-Petrie thinks an earlier Egyptian story has been added to by a Ramaside scribe tacking on pieces of the Phrygian Attis myth and borrowing the name, which took the form of Bata. Attis, we know, was transformed into a pine tree. Perhaps tree-worship gave rise to the folk-tale, if, as has been seen, and as Mr Grant Allen suggests (*The Attis of Catullus*), tree-worship is a form of ancestor-worship, the tree growing on the grave being identified with the person buried below. What concerns us here, however, is the incident of the separable soul or heart, which takes us back to primitive psychology at once. For the tale itself, see Flinders-Petrie, ii. 36; *Records of the Past*, ii. 137; Maspero, p. 5.

[2] The Book of the Dead contains chapters for providing a new heart, as well as for overcoming the Destroyer. The idea of the heart as the seat of life recurs among the Red Indians and in ancient Mexico, where the palpitating heart of the victim was torn out and offered to the gods. Reville, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 43.

of the heart of a dead woman has affinities with this early Egyptian tale, and may possibly have reached the Hottentots from Egyptian sources, may most fitly be referred to here. A lion killed and ate a girl; then, having put on her skin, dress, and ornaments, personated her in her mother's kraal. At night, when in bed, the lion was discovered by some of his hair hanging outside the girl's skin, and he was at once burned to death. The heart of the girl jumped out of his body, and was placed by the mother in a calabash of milk. As it increased in size it took the form of the girl, while the calabash also grew larger. Meanwhile she came out in her mother's absence and tidied up the hut, bidding a hare say he had done it. But her mother would not believe the hare, and discovered her daughter safe and sound once more.[1] Here the heart is not only the life, but almost a kind of embryo as well, which grows up and becomes a replica of its original owner.

In a Basuto tale with a Zulu parallel, a girl is eaten by were-animals in whose charge, as men, she has been sent to her betrothed. Her heart escapes, and as a bird joins some doves; they visit the hut of the husband's sister, who suspects that the beautiful bird may be the lost wife, and bids her husband come and see for himself. He seized hold of the bird; its wings came apart, and there stepped forth the girl herself, whole and beautiful as ever. In other Basuto tales we have the heart escaping as a bird; I have referred to one in the previous chapter.[2] Even among the Australian black fellows we find the separable heart conception in a traditional legend.

[1] Bleek, p. 50.

[2] Jacottet, p. 99. The girl and her brother were children of a childless woman. Doves took a drop of blood from each of her breasts, placed the blood with seeds of sorgho in two calabashes, and bade her cover them up. One day she heard voices coming from the calabashes, and on opening them found a beautiful boy and girl.

Two mischievous spirits (Oruntja) were pursued and killed by the relations of a man whom they had eaten. Their hearts came out of their bodies and lay growling on the ground. The avengers, thinking the Oruntja were not properly dead, returned and speared the bodies; still the growling continued. After a second and a third returning, they resorted to a stratagem. Two of the party remained behind hidden. The hearts, which always ceased growling as soon as the men returned, began again, thinking the coast was clear. Then the watchers took the hearts and, making a fire, consumed them utterly. Perhaps the hearts might have gone into the bodies and resuscitated them, but for this treatment which is so curiously like that meted out to vampires in Europe.[1]

The separable heart also occurs in a Samoyede tale. Seven brothers killed a woman and abducted her daughter. They had a custom of taking out their hearts and sleeping without them, and they now gave them every night to the girl to hang them up on the tent pole. Her brother came to the hut when the men were asleep, took possession of the hearts, and entering the tent with them, found the heartless brothers at the point of death. In vain they begged him to give them back their hearts; he was as obdurate as ever was the Maid of Athens, and flinging six of the hearts to the ground, killed six of the brothers. He promised to restore his heart to the seventh if he would give him back his mother in life. The brother informed him that her spirit was in a bag, which he was to shake so that the spirit "might breathe over her bones"; she would then return to life. In this way he restored his mother, but immediately after hurled the seventh heart to the

[1] Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes*, p. 447. See p. 102 for the vampire belief.

ground, breaking his promise in the approved manner of folk-tale heroes.[1] Compare with this a Malagasy tale in which a deity marries a woman and then wishes to espouse her cousin also. The jealous first wife causes her death by taking out her liver. The dead woman's younger sister weeps at her grave and bids her rise. "I cannot, for I am dead," she replies. Then the husband got possession of the liver, put it back in her body, after which she came to life again. Her cousin was put to death. A Siamese story relates how Thossakin, king of Ceylon, could take his soul out of his body and place it in a box. This he did whenever he went to war, thus becoming invulnerable. Before fighting with Rama he left the box with a hermit, and Rama could not pierce him with his arrows, try as he might. But his ally Hanuman discovered through divination where Thossakin's soul was, and having taken the form of the king, obtained the box from the hermit, crushed it in his hands, and at once its owner fell dead. The idea is a familiar one in Eastern folk-tales, for in the *Panchatantra* a monkey relates that he never leaves the forest where he lives without leaving his heart hidden in the hollow of a tree. Curiously enough, among the Swahilis we find a monkey asserting the same. He was in the habit of feeding a shark with fruit from a tree. One day the shark invited him to come to his home in the sea. Off they set, but on the way the shark said, "Our sultan is ill, and nothing can cure him but a monkey's heart." "But don't you know," replied the monkey, "that we always leave our hearts in trees, and go about with our bodies only?" and made good his escape. There is a Japanese parallel to this, in which the monkey's liver is required for the Queen of the Sea. After he has been conducted to her palace

[1] Castrén, p. 174. The seven brothers with one (abducted) wife may be a relic of polyandry, like the Lapp story of the Giant Bird in which two lads have one king's daughter as wife.

beneath the waves, he is told this by the jelly-fish, and at once says that he always keeps his liver at home. "It is raining; my liver will decay, and I will die," and so saying he starts off, as he said, to fetch it, taking good care, however, not to go back again to sea.[1]

We may be sure that what is predicated of monkeys was once believed possible for men also. It may, however, be only some mythical person who has this power, as in a Navajoe story, where a maiden who can turn herself into a bear, becomes a great warrior and is invulnerable, because before going into battle she took out her vital organs and hid them, replacing them on her return. Possibly some such conception of the separable life was known to the early Hebrews, surviving in later times as a figure of speech, as where Abigail says to David that should anyone seek his soul they will not find it, for it is "bound in the bundle of life with the Lord thy God," who, on the other hand, will sling out the souls of his enemies. It is evident that the underlying thought is the safety of the soul outside the body so long as it is preserved in "the bundle of life."[2]

We shall see later that these folk-tales are really the reflection of actual custom. Let us note meanwhile that in folk-tale, as in custom, the life (heart, soul, etc.) may be removed by an enemy to cause death or harm. A Polish knight took a witch prisoner, but while he was asleep she struck his breast with an aspen twig till it opened. Then she took out his heart, substituting for it the heart of a hare. Thus he became an arrant coward and died of his fears.[3] Another witch in a Russian tale torments

[1] Ferrand, p. 77. Bastian, *Die Vœlker des Oestlichen Asiens*, iv. 340. Steere, p. 1. Griffis, p. 144.

[2] Bureau of Ethnology, *Fifth Annual Report*, p. 407. 1 Samuel xxv. 29. See *Journal of Theol. Studies*, iii. 327.

[3] Naake, p. 36.

a prince whose heart she has obtained, by seething it in her devil's cauldron, while in a Mongol story a dead Khan is restored to life by his wife, after terrible trials, recovering his heart from the sorcerers who have taken possession of it.[1] We have seen how, in the Samoyede story of the seven brothers, the soul of the murdered woman is kept in a bag. Thus what various persons do for safety, other evilly-disposed people, sorcerers, etc., can do for their own evil ends. But whenever the life is separated voluntarily from the body, it is safe just so long as its hiding-place is safe, and until an enemy gets hold of it. This introduces us to a widespread cycle of stories, of which there are scores of variants, and in which the idea is dramatised in the most skilful way. In every case, too, it should be noted that the being who hides his life away is always wicked and most usually supernatural. In most variants this being has stolen away a girl, who worms the secret of his life out of him, reveals it to the hero (her lover, brother, husband, etc.), who then compasses the death of the ravager.

I shall cite with some detail a Basque story, which may be taken as typical of this cycle. Malbrouk was the youngest of three brothers, and succeeded where they failed in rescuing two daughters of a king from the monsters who had abducted them. He had more difficulty in discovering the third, but at last succeeded, only to be told that he had better flee, as the monster without a soul was coming. At once he transformed himself into an ant and hid in the girl's bosom, bidding her ask the monster what she would do if he were to die. The monster, on being asked this, informed her he was deathless, and after much coaxing said, "You must kill a terrible wolf which is in the forest, and inside him is a fox, in the fox is a

[1] Ralston, p. 114; Busk, p. 10.

pigeon; this pigeon has an egg in his head, and whoever should strike me on the head with this egg will kill me. But who will know all that? Nobody." Malbrouk, however, has heard all. A wolf, a dog, a hawk, and an ant have previously, out of gratitude, told him how to take their shapes. In the form of a wolf he kills the monster's wolf. That moment the monster complains to the girl that something must be going to happen. Malbrouk opens the wolf; out jumps the fox, and is pursued by the hero in the form of a dog. After a long pursuit and fight, he kills it. The pigeon flies off, followed by Malbrouk as a hawk. At last he obtains the egg, which he takes to the girl, bidding her act now. The monster comes staggering in, crying that it is all over with him. At once she strikes him on the forehead with the egg, and he falls dead. That Malbrouk and the princess married and lived happily ever after, need hardly be said.[1] In this story, as in many variants, the dramatic situation is cleverly helped out by the grateful animals, who fit in neatly with those in which the monster's life is concealed, and help the hero always at the psychological moment.

A neat turn is given to the story as told in Lorraine. A lion, an ant, and an eagle have given the hero weapons and the power of taking their shape, so that he is able to kill the six-headed beast who guards the imprisoned princess. In the last head he finds three eggs, and by her advice he throws one at the giant's head. The giant turns ill. He throws the second egg, and kills him. Then the third, thrown at the wall, causes a beautiful carriage drawn by four horses to appear, and in it hero and princess drive away.[2] The Breton variant describes the giant's life as being in an egg, in a dove, in a hare, in a wolf, which lives in a coffer at the bottom of the sea.

[1] Webster, p. 82.

[2] Cosquin, i. 166.

"And who do you think will be able to kill me now?" says he, not knowing that death is near.[1] There are many Celtic variants of the story, and in nearly all the hero has had to experience many trials before he could win his love. He has no sooner done so than she is carried off by a giant. This sad fate befell the young king of Easaidh Ruadh. He was assisted in his search by a dog, a falcon, and an otter, and at last reached the giant's den, where his wife hid him. She then set about enquiring where the giant kept his soul. He told her, first, that it was in the "Bonnach stone," then in the threshold, and seeing that she treated these with respect, revealed the secret. "There is a flagstone under the threshold. There is a wether under the flag. There is a duck in the wether's belly, and an egg in the belly of the duck, and it is in the egg that my soul is." The friendly dog pulled out the wether; the falcon caught the duck as it flew away; and the otter recovered the egg from the ocean, into which it had rolled. It only remained to crush the egg, and so put an end to the giant. This incident recurs in "The Sea-Maiden," a story belonging to a different cycle.[2] In this case a sea-beast captures the king's daughter, but her husband is told by a smith that the soul of the beast is in an egg, in a trout, in a hoodie, in a hind which lives on an island in the midst of the loch.

Among Norse variants that of "The Giant with no Heart in his Body" is well known. It is closely paralleled by the North German version. Six brothers set out to seek wives, leaving their youngest brother at home, but promising to bring him a wife. On their way they pass the house of an old man who bids them bring him a wife. Returning with seven sisters, they refuse to give him the youngest, and all save this one are turned to stone. She tells the old

[1] Luzel, v. 13. Campbell, i. 10, 82.

man she is uneasy lest he should die. "I cannot die; for I have no heart in my breast." Then he tells her it is in the coverlet; she decorates that with flowers. So also she treats the house door, till at last he tells her the truth. In a solitary place is a church secured by iron doors, and in it is a bird. "So long as it lives I cannot die, and no one can catch it." Soon after the seventh brother comes to the house and tells the girl his story. She in turn discloses the old man's secret, and helped by an ox, a boar, and a griffin whom he has fed, he obtains the bird. The old man turns ill. Then the youth gives the bird a pinch; he swoons. Finally the bird is squeezed to death, and the man dies. All the brothers and their wives are then restored to life by means of the old man's magic rod.[1]

In several Russian variants Koshchei the Deathless is the being whose life is not in his body. One version relates how he stole Prince Ivan's mother. Ivan arrives at the palace and is hid by his mother, who asks Koshchei where his death is. In a certain place is an oak, under it is a casket, in which is a hare. There is a duck in the hare, and in the duck an egg, which is Koshchei's death. Assisted by a pike, a wolf, and a crow, Ivan obtains the fatal egg, and though Koshchei entreats that he will spare him, he has no mercy, and smashes the egg. In one variant he kills Koshchei by throwing the egg at his forehead.[2] A Greek variant is connected with the Life-token series. The Drako's strength is in three golden hairs in his head. These open a chamber in which are three doves. When one of these is killed, the Drako falls sick; the death of the second makes him very ill; and when the third is destroyed he dies.

[1] Thorpe, *Y.T.S.*, p. 435. The Norse variant is in Dasent, *P.T.*, p. 47. There is an egg in the duck, which is in a well within the church.

[2] Ralston, p. 100 *seq.*

By discovering this secret the hero wins back his sister from the Drako's clutches.[1] Half-iron, according to an Albanian story, has stolen a bride. By her husband's advice she feigns to be dying, and tells Half-iron he has nothing to fear from her. So he tells her his power is in the broom, which she burns. But it is not there. Again she pretends to be ill, and this time finds out the truth. In the silver tusk of a boar is a hare, in which are three pigeons, and if these are killed Half-iron will die.[2] It would be tedious to cite even a tenth of the remaining European variants, and I shall therefore refer only to some other methods employed by the ravisher to hide his life. To destroy the life of the magician of a Tuscan story the hero has to cut down a wood, dry up a fountain, kill the eagle in the fountain, and having taken an egg from its body, throw it at the magician's head. Another magician, in an Italian tale of the Aladdin type, has his life in the seventh head of a hydra in a distant forest. In that head is a leveret, in which is a bird. There is a precious stone in this bird, and if it be placed under his pillow he will die.[3] There are many Hungarian versions. Thus the king of the dwarfs, having deceived the stolen bride several times, at last tells her that his life is in a golden cockchafer, in a golden cock, in a golden sheep, in a golden stag, in a certain island.[4] The hero of a Serbian story has to kill a dragon in a lake near a royal city. The strength of another dragon, who has the hero's brothers and other victims in his power, is in a sparrow, which is in a dove, within a hare concealed in a boar in the

[1] Garnett, ii. 175.

[2] Dozon, p. 131. In a variant of Hahn's, No. 64, the one-eyed ogre's strength is in two pigeons within the belly of a wild boar.

[3] Busk, "How Cajusse was married." *Cf.* a Greek story, in which a hunchback's strength is in the tenth head of a serpent. Hahn, No. 64.

[4] *Ibid.* The hero is assisted by animals.

first dragon's body.[1] Finally a Lapp giant is burned to death when the hero burns the life-egg, which is enclosed in a hen, in a sheep, in a cask, on a burning island.[2]

Outside Europe, especially in India, the same story is found, and in the Indian variants the precautions of the rakshasa (the equivalent of the familiar ogre) are even more elaborate. As told in Bengal the story runs thus. Champa Dal discovers a maiden who is the prisoner of a rakshasa. They resolve to find out on what the rakshasa's life depends. In a tank is a crystal pillar, on the top of which are two bees under deep water. If any human being can dive under, and return to land with the bees, destroying them so that not a drop of their blood falls to the earth, the rakshasa will die. Otherwise a thousand rakshasas will start from the blood. But what human being will find this out, or, finding it out, be able to achieve the feat? Champa Dal, however, is equal to the task, and destroys the rakshasa.[3] Sometimes it is only one particular person who can perform the task, as in another version where he who kills the bees must be a boy with the moon on his forehead, or as in a third, the lame son of the queen of a distant land. Of course they are precisely the persons who are plotting against the rakshasa.[4] The famous Indian story of Punchkin relates how he carried off the hero's mother and uncles, turning the latter to stone. She wormed the secret of his life out of him, and then told it to her son. Away in a jungle is a desolate country in which stands a circle of palms. Among the palms are six chattees of water. Below

[1] Vuk Karajich, No. 8.

[2] *Germania*, iii. 174. Helpful animals occur in this story.

[3] Day, p. 84. In a Kashmir variant the rakshasa's soul is in a pillar supporting the verandah. Break the pillar and the rakshasa will die.

[4] Day, p. 253; *Indian Antiquary*, 1872, p. 115.

the sixth is a cage in which is a parrot. But there are crowds of genii round the palms to defend Punchkin's life. However, the hero is carried thither while the genii are asleep, by eagles which he has rescued from a serpent, and obtains the parrot. Punchkin offers him anything for it. "Restore my uncles to life," says the hero. Punchkin does so. Then the hero tears off the parrot's wings and legs, and with each the corresponding limb of the magician falls off. Lastly, he wrings its neck and Punchkin dies.[1] Among Kashmir stories there is one of a prince hidden by a princess whom a jinn has carried off. The jinn's life is in a bee within a honey-comb, on a tree which can only be reached by means of a magic stool. The prince obtains the stool, then the bee, and so deprives the jinn of life.[2]

Even more elaborate are the precautions of the Tartar Taschkhan who, having stolen a woman, is told by her that she will become his wife provided that he tells her where he keeps his soul. He replied that there was a fountain of gold under seven poplars, to which seven deer came to drink. In one of these was a golden casket, containing a silver casket, in which were seven quails, one of which had a golden head and a silver body. That was his true soul. In this case it is the woman's brother-in-law, who, having heard all, destroys Taschkhan.[3] A story from Kamaon has some affinities with the North German and Norse tales already cited. A fakir has transported a princess to the shore of the seventh sea. Her husband and his six brothers come to seek her,

[1] Frere, p. 13. [2] Knowles, p. 380.

[3] Radloff, iv. 88. In the *Arabian Nights* a jinn who has stolen a maiden has his soul in a sparrow shut up in eight boxes, within seven coffers in the heart of a block of marble at the bottom of the sea. It had been prophesied that he should die by human hands, hence his precautions—an incident which is not found in the other variants. Clouston, *P.T.F.*, i. 349.

and are changed into trees. The son of one of these brothers arrives, and bids her ask the fakir where he kept his breath. She arrives at the secret by pretending sorrow for his death, which inevitably "cometh, soon or late." "But I am immortal, for on the shore of the sixth sea is a palace under which is a hospice. Beneath it is an iron cage, in which is a parakeet. When that parakeet is killed, I shall die." The youth obtains possession of the palace by marrying the daughter of the king of that land, and then, having found the parakeet, forces the fakir to restore the seekers, after which he kills him.[1]

The incident of the separable soul occurs in other cycles of stories. Of the cycle in which a hero overcomes someone, usually his captor, either by himself or by following the advice of a fellow-captive or a treacherous relative, there are several variants. The Magyar story of the Three Princes and the Three Dragons makes the dragon's witch-mother fall in love with the reluctant Ambrose. Her maid (a princess in disguise) advises him to ask her how she keeps alive so long. After much wheedling she tells him. There is a wild boar in a silken meadow, in it is a hare in which is a pigeon. In the pigeon is a box containing a dark beetle, which is her power, and a white beetle which is her life.[2] Doghead, a Magyar giant, keeps his strength in a cask in the seventh cellar of his castle. His daughter gives Prince Mirko a supply of her father's strength, and in the fight which follows he easily overcomes the giant.[3] The idea is found embedded in the Persian romance of the History of Nassar. A witch in whose power Shah Mannsur is held, changes herself into a spider, which disappears into the mouth of a marble lion, emerging as a viper and then entering a phial. Mannsur is advised by a beautiful fellow-captive to strike the

[1] Minaef, No. 10. [2] Jones, p. 205. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 72.

phial with a stone, and the witch will die. He does so; everything disappears by magic; and he afterwards finds that the witch, in the form of a cat, had expired in great agony.[1] Rama and Lakshmana, in an Indian legend, were carried off by the giant Mairavana. Hanuman learned from the giant's sister that his life was composed of five vital airs in the form of five black bees on a far distant mountain. These he catches and kills, and Mairavana at once perishes.[2] The hero appears in a less pleasant light in a story from Dardistan. Azru had secretly married the daughter of a king, and forced her to find out where he keeps his soul. This she does by the usual pretence of anxiety for his safety, and he tells her it is hidden in the snows and can only perish by means of fire.[3] A Pamir story resembles the Indian one just quoted. A prince fights a dwarf, but as often as he cuts off the dwarf's head, it flies on again. At last he is told that the dwarf's life is hidden in two stones, and by this information he succeeds in killing him.[4] Lastly, there is a Kashmir story in which a witch, to save a princess, dashes a small earthen vessel to pieces, and so destroys her brother's life.[5]

[1] Clouston, *E.R.*, p. 25. [2] Clouston, *P.T.R.*, i. 350.

[3] Leitner, iii. 8. [4] *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, xlvi., part i., No. 2.

[5] Knowles, p. 73. In another cycle, to which may be given the name of the Wicked Queen, and of which there are many Eastern variants, a king, having married a rakshasi, has his mind poisoned against his other wives by her, and ill-treats them. The son of one of these wives goes to the rakshasi's mother and pretends to be her grandson. She shows him seven cocks, a spinning-wheel, a pigeon, and a starling. These contain the lives of the rakshasi-queen's brothers, her mother, father, and of herself. He kills the cocks and pigeon, and destroys the spinning-wheel, and then goes off to his father with the starling. In his presence he chokes it and the rakshasi dies, making everyone happy once more. This is the Kashmir version (Knowles, p. 42). There are many Indian variants (Day, p. 117, "The Boy whom Seven Mothers Suckled"; Stokes, pp. 51, 173; Steele and Temple, p. 98). So far as I know there are no direct equivalents in Europe, perhaps for the reason that polygamy has so long been offensive to Western minds.

The separable life incident occurs in two Italian Bluebeard tales. One girl is careful to put aside the balls which her predecessors dropped in the Forbidden Chamber. The monster was deceived, and trusted her so much as to tell her that his life was dependent on an egg. She asked him to show it to her, and then knocked it out of his hand so that it was broken and he died. This is the Tuscan version; the Sicilian is more curious still. A robber's life depends on a magic head which tells tales on the two sisters, his successive wives. They are put to death, but the third and youngest sister flatters the head so much that it follows her into the kitchen, where she begins to comb its locks. While thus engaged she throws it into the oven and the robber's death follows.[1]

Several of the tales passed under review make the giant's life depend on an egg which must be thrown at his forehead before he can be killed. This is suggestive of the Norse myth of Balder, whom the mistletoe alone could kill when it was thrown at him, and is further illustrated by the Algonquin legend of Glooskap. His wicked brother Malsumsis asked what would kill him. Glooskap deceived him several times, as the giant or sorcerer of some of our tales did to the heroine, but finally, as he sat by a brook, murmured, "Nothing but a flowering rush can kill me." The beaver overheard him and told Malsumsis, asking wings as a reward. Malsumsis laughed at him, and the animal revealed all to Glooskap, who, taking a fern root (which was his brother's life), smote him in his sleep with it so that he died.[2] Compare now a Welsh story with these. Llew, in the *Mabinogi* of Mathab Mathonwy, is asked by his wife, who loves

[1] Imbriani, p. 7. Gonzenbach, i. 135. See p. 321.

[2] Leland, *A.L.*, p. 16; *cf.* 106, and an Iroquois variant, p. 25. Mr Leland thinks many of these Indian tales were borrowed from the Norsemen. If so, this is, perhaps, the Balder myth retold in aboriginal dress.

Gronw, what will kill him. He must be in a certain position after taking a bath. Then if anyone cast a spear at him, he would die, but the spear must have been a year in making, during the hour of the sacrifice on Sunday. Gronw obtained such a spear, but Llew, instead of dying, flew off in the form of an eagle. It is not easy to see why touching a person with his life should cause his death, except by jumping to the conclusion that what is one's life becomes one's death. Probably the real significance rests, as in the other tales, on the fact that the life has fallen into an enemy's hands.[1]

While the more dramatic forms of the Separable Soul incident are found in European and Oriental tales, we have traced the idea in all parts of the world, among savages, and back to a very remote past. We have seen that actual folk-custom—the intimate connection of some separate object with a man's life—throws some light on this incident of so many folk-tales; it remains to suggest, in more detail, further reasons for such a belief. Mr Clodd has discussed many of these tales in his *Philosophy of Punchkin*, and finds the origin of the idea in the primitive belief that the soul can leave the body.[2] If it can do so, it is easy to go on to believe that it may be deposited in a safe place. Dr Frazer starts with that belief, and goes on to show, with that wealth of illustration characteristic of his studies, which leaves so little room for original discovery in those who come after him, how some tribes believe that the soul can be deposited in a safe place, how others believe that the life or strength is in the hair, how others choose a life-

[1] In Scandinavian belief, Thor, being challenged by the giant Hymir to break his cup, after dashing it in vain against various objects which were themselves broken, was advised by a woman to throw it at the giant's forehead, when it was at once shattered. But nothing happened to the giant. Thorpe, i. 68.

[2] *F.L.J.*, ii. 303. *Cf.* Clodd, *Myths and Dreams*, p. 188 *seq.*

tree at the birth of a child. From this we are led on to Totemism in its various forms, while it is suggested that the pretended killing of a youth in savage rites of initiation is really meant for the depositing of his soul or life with his totem, after which he comes to life again.

Various lines of primitive thought have evidently led up to the practice which is enshrined in these folk-tales. It is based, first of all, on the primitive law of sympathetic magic, that whatever is done to the part is done to the whole, even though it is separate from that whole. Hence the care which the savage takes of hair and nail clippings, etc., lest an enemy should obtain them and work harm by their means. Such evident sources of harm are those parts, such as the caul, placenta, etc., closely connected with the child at birth. Their importance to the child is immense; and from being regarded as sources of harm in hostile hands they are frequently looked upon as potent influences over the child's whole life. In a sense they are his life. In Amboina the caul is preserved, and if the child turns ill he is made to drink water in which it has been dipped. Such a belief as this must once have been common in primitive Europe, for the talismanic virtues of a caul are still known to sailors; but even closer to the savage theory is the Icelandic conception. The caul contains the child's guardian spirit, or part of his soul; it is buried under the threshold; and if it were to be thrown away or burned the child would be deprived of his guardian spirit.[1] With this we may compare the Breton doctrine of the werwolf. At daybreak the man who is a werwolf resumes his form by taking off his skin and hiding it, but what-

[1] Riedel, p. 74. Thorpe, i. 114. *Cf.* Grimm, *D.M.*, 828. In some parts of England the caul is believed to indicate the state of the owner's health when he is absent, by, *e.g.*, "snerkling up" when he is dead, turning moist when he is dying, etc. Jones, p. 378.

ever happens to the skin happens to its owner. Has it been placed in a cold place, he will be cold all day. One man hid his skin in an oven; a fire was lit in the grate, and soon the owner of the skin began to leap about, crying, "I burn, I burn."[1] The umbilical cord has also potent virtues; it is carefully concealed by many races; sometimes it is used as an amulet, which the child carries in after-life. So, too, the necessity of preserving one's hair from falling into an enemy's hands, has given rise to the idea that there is something powerful for good or evil in the hair itself. To cut it causes weakness, think various savage races, just as it caused weakness to Samson. We have already seen some stories in which not the whole hair, but some particular lock, or a hair-string, was the seat of life. The idea recurs again in those tales where a witch enchants or petrifies someone by means of her hair—the witch's power acting through her hair; hence mediæval witches in European countries were frequently shaved before trial, in order to deprive them of their power. A final example of this class of beliefs is that of the Central Australian natives already referred to. Each child who is born has a churinga, or sacred stone, supposed to have been dropped by the spirit-ancestor who has reincarnated himself in him. It is kept in a sacred store-house, and is intimately connected with the child's life. When he is ill, some dust scraped from it is mixed with water and given him to drink, so that he may be strengthened. The churinga is nothing but the receptacle of the child's life.[2]

The idea of the separate life is also suggested by

[1] *Revue Celtique*, i. 420. In tales concerning men changed to beasts by enchantment, they lose their beast nature when the skin is burnt. On the other hand, the seal or mermaid wife recovers it when she discovers her skin. See pp. 342-47. The werwolf idea differs from both of these.

[2] See p. 123. Spencer and Gillen, *Native Races*, pp. 135, 246.

the widespread group of beliefs which, for convenience, we may class together as Totemism. Whether the animal or plant species be the clan totem, sex totem, or the totem of the individual (like the Red Indian *manitou*), it is everywhere believed that there is an intimate relation existing between it and those with whose life it is identified. To kill a totem is highly dangerous to the person whose totem it is, and the same holds good of the individual *manitou* or *nagual*. There is a close relation between the life of the one and that of the other: when the owner of a *nagual* dies, the *nagual* also dies, and *vice versâ*. This may be the reason why it is so often in an animal that the giant has hidden away his life. Perhaps the animal is the dim remembrance of the once all-important animal totem, or the animal *manitou*. As we have seen, Dr Frazer has suggested that the rites of totem initiation with many races, when the youth is supposed to die and come alive again, may have no other reason than that of transferring the youth's soul to his totem. His recovery would then be due to his obtaining the soul of his totem, or an infusion of fresh life from it.[1]

The possibility of the soul existing temporarily apart from the body, as in sleep, illness, etc., is held by most primitive peoples. As it is a common savage belief that a sorcerer can entice a man's soul out of his body for evil purposes, so it was believed in some parts of Europe that fairies could steal the soul, leaving a fairy soul in its place; while elsewhere the same power was ascribed to witches, who would remove a man's heart from his body in sleep, replacing it by that of a hare, and so endowing him with a cowardly nature. As in Russia the witch is supposed to eat the heart, so in West Africa witch-women can deprive a man of his life-soul, a kind of less material

[1] *Golden Bough*, iii. 422 *seq.*

duplicate of himself, and feast on it in a magic orgy. Its owner then sickens and dies.[1]

Occasionally, as a result of the farther belief that a man may have two or more souls, it is held that one of them may exist permanently out of the body. But if it is injured the owner is also injured, or may die. As an example, we may take that of the West African negroes. Of a man's four souls, one is contained in an animal which lives out in the bush (hence it is called the bush soul). The witch-doctor alone knows what animal it is in, but he imparts his knowledge to the owner, who is then careful not to injure any animal of that kind. But, as Miss Kingsley points out, the animal in whom the bush-soul is may be a reckless blade, exposing himself to danger. He is shot or trapped, and then the man's death must inevitably ensue. This is not unlike the Roman belief in the genius—a sort of external soul on which a man's life and health depended, and which sometimes appeared in animal form. Similar ideas are found among the Karens, Malays, Banks Islanders, Zulus, and others.[2] In a Samoan story two girls take their brother's shadow and put it in a bottle, throwing it into the water where the beautiful Sina was bathing. She would not rest till she had found the original, who, however, refused to marry her, and she died of grief.[3] *Shadows we are, and shadows we pursue!*

Thus we see several strands of belief all pointing to one idea, viz., that the life is separate from the man,

[1] Scott, *Minstrelsy*, p. 217. Ralston, *Songs of the Russian People*, pp. 413-14. Nassau, p. 55: a story illustrating this belief is cited on p. 5 *supra*. Fairies and witches are invariably confused in popular tradition; whatever is ascribed to the one is ascribed to the other; while in many cases the same stories are told of ghosts.

[2] Miss Kingsley, p. 200 *seq*. Jevons, xlvii. Frazer, *op. cit.*, p. 407 *seq*.

[3] Turner, p. 99. In another tale a woman puts shadows of various objects in the water. A man sees them, jumps in, but only bruises his head, p. 101. This is akin to crystal-gazing.

and that whatever is done to it is *ipso facto* done to the man himself. The early story-teller soon saw the dramatic possibilities of this idea, and ultimately gave it two forms, that of the Life-token and that of the Giant's Life tales, setting each in appropriate surroundings, and in the case of the latter working up to it with powerful effect. It is noteworthy that the very people with whom these tales were so popular after the actual belief itself had passed away, were themselves acting similarly with regard to the caul, the life-tree, etc. But why should it so often have been a wizard, ogre, or rakshasi, whose life was hidden away? Probably for the same reason as cannibalism is also predicated in folk-tales of these very personages, viz., because the custom had died out among the folk themselves, and had to be transferred to some supernatural being. An actual example of this occurs among the Yakuts of Siberia, who believe that the wizard keeps his soul in an animal, and that if this animal is killed the wizard also dies. But what is here believed of the wizard was once doubtless possible for every one. And in the more primitive tales the same holds true. The Egyptian story of the Two Brothers, the Red Indian tales, and others, all point to a stage in which the ordinary person, and not merely a giant, was involved. But as the story germ developed the wizard or giant became the villain whose boasted immortality (based on what was once a primitive practice) was overcome by the youthful hero.

CHAPTER VI

TRANSFORMATION

Of all the incidents occurring in folk-tales none is so well-known as that of the transformation of the hero or heroine, or of other persons, into animal form. Based, as we shall see, upon ideas derived from primitive psychology, this incident occurs in many different shapes, of each of which there are countless varieties. It will be enough for our purpose to show the principal cycles in which the Transformation incident occurs, and to cite a few of the variants as they are found in Europe and elsewhere. It should be noted that, for the reason that the possibility of transformation is one of the chief articles of primitive belief, the examples of the incident from savage folk-tales are more than usually numerous. The order in which we shall study this episode is as follows :—

1. Transformation by a sorcerer or witch.
2. Transformation by bathing, or by eating or drinking.
3. Self-transformation.
4. The Transformation Combat.
5. (*a*) Transformation of the fugitive lovers; (*b*) Transformation of objects cast away by them.

1. *Transformation by a sorcerer or witch.*—Here selection is especially necessary. Every classical student is aware how filled the mythology of Greece

is with the transformation of men and women. But usually it is effected by the gods as a punishment.[1] The story of Circe, as preserved by Homer, will serve as an introduction to those folk-tales which contain this incident. Circe, having caused the followers of Odysseus to forget their fatherland by means of her potent drugs, smote them with her wand and turned them into swine, though "their mind abode even as of old." Odysseus, having overcome her, forced the enchantress to restore his friends to their true shape, which she did by anointing them with a magic charm. This is an excellent example of the literary use of an already existing Greek *Märchen.* In many folk-tale cycles the witch transformation episode plays an important part, *e.g.*, that of Beauty and the Beast, in which the beast is a prince transformed into a snake,[2] frog, or monster by sorcery, and some tales of the Youngest Son type, in which the elder brothers are transformed and the youngest forces the enchanter to break the spell. These will be cited in later chapters. Here we shall notice the True Wife cycle.

In this cycle a king's wife is changed during childbirth into an animal by some woman jealous of her position, who takes her place. Night by night she comes to the palace door, and says that if the king does not save her within a certain time she will have to keep her animal form all her life. This is reported to the king, who keeps watch and hears it for himself. He rushes out and takes his true wife in his arms, when at once the spell is broken and she resumes her natural form. Breton, German, and Russian variants make the queen's stepmother change her into a bird; in the Swedish the false queen's mother does so, but in all the enchantress's daughter takes

[1] It is sufficient to refer to Ovid's *Metamorphoses* as the literary presentation of such myths or folk-tales.

[2] Odyssey, x. See Gerland, *Alt. Griesch. Märchen in der Odysee.*

the queen's place.[1] A Greek variant makes the sisters of the queen turn her into a bird, one of them taking her place; the sorceress herself is the impostor, after changing the queen into a dove, a fawn, a fish, and a turtle-dove, in variants from Catalonia, Lorraine, Asia Minor, and Italy.[2] A Hindu version departs from the usual type, but is clearly connected with it. A queen, after her death, is transformed into a bird by a god who sticks a pin in her head. She reappears in the palace, and the king puts her in a cage. One day while he is fondling the bird the pin comes out, and at once she takes her human shape again.[3] Placing a pin in the head is a common way of effecting transformation, and occurs in the Greek and Breton variants just cited. There are several Swedish versions, in which the queen changes her form repeatedly through witchery after her husband catches her. He still keeps her in his arms, and thus exhausts the power of the sorceress.[4] These have some analogy to tales of the Transformation Combat cycle.

Instances of witch-transformation occur in the folk-tales of all lands. Akin to the stories just cited is the Celtic story of Ossian's mother, which occurs both as a folk-tale and also as part of the Ossianic

[1] Luzel, *Legendes*, ii. 303; Grimm, No. 135; Ralston, *R.F.T.*, p. 184; Cavallius, p. 142.

[2] Legrand, p. 140; *Rondallayre*, iii. 149; Cosquin, i. 232; Hahn, No. 49; Comparetti, No. 68.

[3] Miss Stokes, No. 2.

[4] Thorpe, *Y.T.S.*, p. 61 *seq.* Sometimes the hero's sweetheart is personated by a gipsy, who changes her into a golden duck which follows her everywhere, and at last exposes her villainy. There are Magyar, Portuguese, and Indian versions of this tale. Jones, p. 214; *Portuguese Folk-Tales*, p. 12; *Old Deccan Days*, pp. 85, 223; Miss Stokes, p. 284. The English story of the Laidly Worm of Spindlestone Heugh has some analogy to these stories. The witch stepmother changes a girl into a "laidly worm" until her absent brother, Childe Wynd, will kiss her thrice. In the sequel he does so, and she recovers her shape. The witch is then changed to a toad. Jacobs, p. 183. *Cf.* Child, *English and Scottish Ballads*, i. 207; and *infra*, p. 254.

saga. His father Fingal had a fairy sweetheart whom he forsook, and then married a mortal woman. The fairy changed her into a hind, in which form she gave birth to the poet. Long after, while hunting, he was about to throw his spear at a hind when it bade him forbear, because it was his mother. He went with her into a hill, where she became a beautiful woman. When he left her he could see no sign of the door which had closed upon him, and though it seemed only three days that he had spent with her, he had been in the hill for three years. Possibly if we had the full version of this tale we should find that the fairy took the true wife's place.[1]

In a Basque story, seven brothers forbid their sister ever to go near a certain house. She did so, and obtained from the witch who lived there certain herbs which she was to put in her brothers' foot-bath to relieve their fatigue. By the herbs they were changed into cows. Later she married a prince, on condition that he would never kill the cows. In his absence she was thrown down a precipice by the witch, who took her place and told the king that in order to cure her sufferings he must kill the cows. He is amazed, but sends a servant to do so. The servant hears the true wife's voice, bemoaning her own and her brothers' fate. Then the king rescued his wife, and compelled the witch to give back the brothers their true shape, afterwards burning her in an oven.[2] In another Basque story the girl has come to seek her brothers, and she herself forces the witch to disenchant them.[3] Here we are on the track of another cycle, in which a man's sons are cursed by him and become birds when their little sister is born. On her falls the task of

[1] Carmichael, *Carmina Gaedelica*, ii. 22.

[2] Webster, p. 187. *Cf. Old Deccan Days*, p. 59; "Truth's Triumph," and the story of "The Old Man and the Hind" in the *Arabian Nights*.

[3] Webster, p. 52.

recovering them and finding means of restoring their true form to them.[1] Grimm's story of the Twelve Brothers resembles this, but the boys escape from their father; their sister goes in search of them, and it is by her going near the witch's house that their transformation results, as in the first Basque story.[2]

Some stories of the True Bride form a class by themselves. A Nereid queen, in a Greek story, emerged from a citron and was married by the hero. Then a negress threw her into a well, and she was changed into an eel. The negress took her place, and had the eel killed and eaten. Its bones, thrown into the garden, became a lemon tree, which, by the negress's orders, was lopped of its branches. The stump spoke to an old man who had taken it for firewood, and bade him strike above and below. When he had done so, the Nereid emerged safe and sound, and was restored to her husband.[3] This version has borrowed some of the incidents of the Two Brothers cycle. Other parallels differ. The wife is changed into a dove by the enchantress who sticks a pin into her head. The bird sings a song which arouses suspicion, is captured, and the pin withdrawn in spite of the witch's protestations, when the fraud is discovered.[4]

Transformation for various purposes, by witch, fairy, medicine-man, etc., occurs sporadically in the folk-tales of all lands. Sometimes it is done by way

[1] *Pentamerone*, iv. 8. Thorpe, *Y.T.S.*, p. 459. Here a mother transforms her seven sons into ravens, because they are so much trouble.

[2] *Cf.* Grimm's story of the Six Swans, in which the stepmother changes the sons into swans. The sister prepares to disenchant them, but meanwhile marries. The king's stepmother steals her children, and the poor girl is about to be executed, when the swans save her, and she disenchants them.

[3] Garnett, ii. 20.

[4] Chili (*Spanish*), *F.L.J.*, iii. 290. *Italian*, Crane, pp. 338, 342.

of punishment, recalling the classical instances in which the divinities changed the transgressor into animal form. An Icelandic story is a good instance. A man wrecked at sea was saved by fairies, one of whom became his lover. After he had returned to his own land, a beautiful child was found in the church porch, but in spite of its likeness to him he disowned it. Thereupon a fair woman appeared and told him that for his ingratitude he would be changed into a whale, the terror of the northern seas. So in an Aino tale a man was changed into a fox by a divinity because he was a liar and a thief. Australian stories show the danger of jesting at sacred things. At the famous Bora of Byamee, the Mahthis chattered and jested while the Wirreemin or medicine-men were performing the sacred dance. For this, Byamee (the divinity) changed them into dogs. A medicine-man changed some girls into frogs because they mocked him. Their mother was about to eat the frogs, when she heard them speak inarticulately and gathered what had happened. She offered the sorcerer a magic stone as a condition of their release. He agreed, but when she went to seek them, the girls had become stone frogs, in which state they remained.[1]

Most stories of witch enchantment make the transformation the result of an action which has aroused the displeasure of the enchanter. That action may be wrong, as in the cases just cited; more frequently it is innocent, except from the enchanter's point of view. An Esthonian tale illustrates this. A maiden who is said by a witch to be her own daughter, flees with the prince her lover. The witch sends a magic packet after them which changes the girl into a water-lily. In the sequel the prince recovers her, but not till he has taken the form of a

[1] Arnason, i. 65. Chamberlain, p. 25. Parker, 1st ser., p. 97; *ibid.*, 2nd ser., p. 79.

carp swimming in the river where the water-lily is. Together they float down the stream to a rowan tree, on reaching which both resume their true form.[1] Such enchantments are well known to all readers of the *Arabian Nights.* Some other Eastern examples may be cited. The Persian "History of Nassar" tells how a witch transformed a girl into a bitch, in which form she escaped, but was pursued by all the dogs of the town till she was glad to return to her merciless captor. A young man in the same History was changed into a bird by a fairy who fastened a talisman round his neck.[2] Indian, Persian, and Arabic fictions are full of this species of enchantment, and it only needs that the talisman be removed for the original form to be resumed. In a story from Kashmir a prince is changed into a ram by a witch's daughter tying a cord round his neck. She is in love with him, and at night removes the cord, when he becomes a man. All this time his own wife sees the ram in the house, and only discovers the villainy after several years.[3] A Burmese hero was changed into a parrot in the same way. A princess bought the bird, and by accident removed the thread. The youth stood before her, and she instantly fell in love with him. By day he was a parrot, by night a man. Thus suspicion was averted, till her condition betrayed her, when she publicly married the hero.[4]

A story from Guiana has some resemblance to these tales of secret love, and the coincidence is suggestive of our theory of the *incidents* of folk-tales having

[1] Kirby, i. 208. *Cf.* p. 257, where Elsie, leaving the enchanted wood, is changed into an eagle. A prince shot the eagle; this broke the charm, and Elsie reappeared and was married to the prince.

The magic packet has a parallel in the "sending" of Icelandic folk-lore, *i.e.*, a ghost raised up by sorcery and sent against an enemy (Powell and Magnusson, 2nd ser., intro. lxxvii.), and in the Eskimo amulet. See p. 200 for references.

[2] Clouston, *E.R.*, p. 29.

[3] Knowles, p. 71.

[4] Sparkes, No. 61.

been invented separately. A sorcerer's daughter was in love with a hunter, and wishing to be near him always, asked her father to change her into a dog. He gave her a skin which made her like a dog when she placed it on her shoulders. The hunter took this dog along with the others, but it always returned home before them, when the hero found his hut swept and food prepared. Next time he watched, and discovered what took place. He seized the skin and burned it, and then claimed the girl as his wife. The demon foxes of Chinese and Japanese folk-lore often lay aside their skin in this way, like the swan-maidens everywhere, and marry a mortal.[1] We may compare with this distant Guiana tale another from Romagna. A girl, betrayed by her lover, received a feather from some dwarfs and was turned into a swallow. She flew off to her lover and touched him with the feather, when his love for her returned and she resumed her human shape. Such stories show that the power of the enchanter may occasionally be used for beneficent ends.[2]

[1] Brett, p. 176. For the burnt skin, *cf.* p. 347 *infra*, and for the fox superstition, p. 261.

[2] Leland, *E.R.R.*, p. 224. Petrifaction, or transformation into stone, is as universally believed in as transformation into animal shape. It was probably suggested by the fact that many rocks bear some resemblance to human form, or that fossil animals are replicas of their living forms (showing that many of primitive man's ideas have a certain basis in fact, but usually the application of the fact, or the deduction drawn from it, is quite wrong), or from a confusion of the monolith erected over a grave with the ghost believed to tenant it (many stone circles and monoliths are believed traditionally to be petrified men and women). Usually the belief takes the form that certain rocks or stones were once human beings who were changed to stone as a punishment. This is found in Australia (Mrs Parker, p. 50), N. America (Petitot, p. 166), Kashmir (Knowles, p. 192), Babylonia (Sayce, *F.L.J.*, i. 18), Samoa (Turner, p. 45), Borneo (St John, i. 229), Africa (Dennett, p. 5), Peru (see p. 353), and in all European countries (Bérenger-Féraud, ii. 371 *seq.*). Ovid's *Metamorphoses* gives many classical instances. In folk-tales the power of petrifaction is usually in the hands of witch or wizard (see pp. 55, 382). Usually a touch with a wand, binding the

(2) *Transformation by bathing* in certain waters occurs frequently in later Eastern fiction, but it has an earlier folk-lore origin, since it occurs sporadically in European and savage folk-tales. Tajul-Muluk, the hero of *The Rose of Bakawali*, overhears a maina telling her young ones how a man may obtain certain treasures, and profiting by what he has heard, he goes to a lake, where he is attacked by a dragon. Leaping into the water to save himself, he finds that he is changed into a raven. Having eaten of the fruit of a certain tree, he recovers his shape. Later on in the story he bathes in another lake, and is changed into a woman; the water of a third turns him into an Abyssinian, and of a fourth into his original form.[1] Such incidents, each involving the hero in a new series of adventures, are obviously the literary form of more primitive conceptions. In the Indian *Kathakoça*, animals plunging into a certain bathing-place become men, and men become gods.[2] The same conception, though unusual in Western folk-tales, is found in an Epirote version of a tale which will be cited in the chapter dealing with Beast-marriage. When the bird flies to the princess who loves him, she puts water in a cup and a ring in the water; in this the bird bathes and takes human

victim with the witch's hair, or the repeating of a spell, suffices. *Cf.* Sébillot, i. 124; Legrand, p. 161; Auning, p. 79; Leskien, p. 547; *Rev. Trad. Pop.*, ii. 359; Riviére, p. 193; Burton, i. 64; Miss Frere, pp. 10, 55, 75; Clouston, *E.R.*, pp. 320, 469; Mijatovich, p. 114. In Scandinavian belief giants and trolls are petrified if surprised by the dawn—Thorpe, i. 8. Change of sex also appears in folk-tales. In Eastern stories it is usually effected by a jinn or rakshasi (Clouston, *E.R.*, p. 279; *P.T.*, i. 446; Dubois, *Panchatantra*, p. 15); in one case a woman becomes a man by putting a herb in her ear (Tawney, pp. 110, 114). For European instances, *cf.* Dozon, p. 109; Hahn, No. 58; Ovid, *Metamor.*, ix. 793. Montaigne speaks of the subject (Essays, book i. cap. 20), and cites a case which was said to have occurred in his own day!

[1] Clouston, *E.R.*, p. 298 *seq.*

[2] Tawney, p. 50.

form.[1] An Algonquin tale supplies a savage parallel to the Persian story. Two girls used to absent themselves from their village one day in the week, and swim all day in a certain lake. Once an Indian spied them and saw them going into and coming out of the water, but as he watched they became longer and longer, and were turned into snakes. And having been seen by a man, they had to keep their serpent form. A variant describes the girls as becoming snakes from below the waist. Here, however, as in the *Melusina* stories, the girls may not have been really human, and contact with their native element may have restored their true form.[2]

Transformation by eating or drinking some particular substance has a wider occurrence in folk-tales, and is found as the main incident of a well-marked story cycle, of which the following is the Roman version. A youth was robbed of his magic treasures by a girl who, by using one of them, left him alone on a high mountain. There, dying of hunger, he ate some green stuff, and was transformed into an ass. Having descended the mountain, he ate another plant and found himself a man once more. Collecting a quantity of both plants he made his way to the girl, and sold her some of plant number one. She became an ass as soon as she had eaten it. Then the hero bargained with her for his treasures, giving her plant number two as soon as she had returned them.[3] Campbell gives a Celtic version of this tale, in which a deer's head replaces that of the eater of a certain apple.[4] This is obviously a later idea, as also are the numerous versions, European and Eastern, in which an enormous nose or spreading horns result from eating a certain herb.[5] Bohemian, German, and

[1] Garnett, ii. 437.
[2] Leland, *A.L.*, pp. 268, 270.
[3] Busk, p. 146.
[4] Campbell, i. 181.
[5] See Cosquin, i. 121; Crane, p. 119; Kirby, i. 306; *Gesta Romanorum*, cap. cxx.

Breton versions of the Roman story exist. In a Kashmir parallel the virtues of the leaves of two trees are discovered by the hero's overhearing the conversation of two birds. He gives pellets of the leaves of the first tree to his paramour, who has stolen his treasures, and she becomes an ass, and when she has been sufficiently humiliated, he restores her to her true shape. There are also several Indian, as well as Bilochi and Mongol versions.[1]

Transformation by drinking occurs in those stories of the True Bride cycle, in which the boy and girl are driven from home. They had not gone far, says a Magyar version, before the boy got very thirsty. He wanted to drink at various places, from water lying in a cartrut, a bear's and a wolf's footprints, but was forbidden by his sister, lest he should be turned into a cartwheel, a bear, or a wolf. But he could hold out no longer, and drank water lying in a roebuck's footprint, when he at once turned into a roebuck. In a Sicilian version he becomes a calf in the same way, in German and Greek versions a fawn through drinking of a brook. The German story expressly says that the witch-stepmother had enchanted all the waters in the forest, so that whoever drank of them would take animal form.[2] We may suppose that this proviso occurred originally in all such tales. A Basque version of the Dragon-slaying cycle relates that after marrying the princess whom he had delivered, the hero fell into the hands of a witch, who invited him to eat, and at the first mouthful he was changed into a monster. This also happened to his brother, but both were disenchanted

[1] Waldau, p. 51. Grimm, No. 122. Sebillot, Nq. 14. *F.L.J.*, iv. 24. Knowles, p. 90; Tawney, p. 125 (changed into a camel). *Ind. Ant.*, xiv. 109. *Bilochi Stories*, No. 13.

[2] Jones, p. 220. The brother is disenchanted by his sister who rubs him with ointment out of the stomach of the whale which swallowed her when she was thrown into the sea. Pitré, No. 283. Grimm, "Little Brother and Sister." Hahn, No. 1.

later by the youngest brother's help. In parallel stories the transformation, petrifaction, etc., is accomplished in other ways.[1]

Savage parallels, Red Indian and Eskimo, present the usual likeness to these European folk-tale incidents. We cite first a Pawnee story. Two brothers were lost in the woods. One of them persisted in eating buffalo marrow and squirrel flesh, and was changed into a snake during the night. But, after this, he became king of the snakes, and was able to help his tribe in all their undertakings. In the Eskimo tale Malaise lands at a place where certain enemies attack him. He is already provided with the reindeer stockings of his dead brother, and puts dust and hairs from these stockings in their drinking-vessel, and when they drink they are turned into reindeer.[2]

(3) The power of *self-transformation* is universally ascribed in folk-belief to gods or spirits, sorcerers, and ordinary human beings. To illustrate this fully a separate volume would be required; we shall confine ourselves to a few examples of folk-tales proper containing this incident. Transformation of divinities or spirits at will is the common property of Greek, Hindu, Scandinavian, Celtic, and ancient Egyptian mythologies, to mention but a few of the higher instances. It is only natural, then, that the gods of a lower culture will possess this power even more freely. The Polynesian Maui turned himself into the form of a bird to amaze his brothers; to escape the dead guardians of Hades on his visit thither, he flew past as a pigeon; while by pulling at his brother-in-law's features and limbs he changed him into a dog.[3] In a Guiana legend certain spirits can assume the form of jaguars, dogs, snakes, etc. One of them who

[1] Webster, p. 91. [2] Grinnell, p. 171. Rink, p. 173.
[3] Clarke, pp. 39, 50.

takes the form of a frog is enamoured of a youth, who, to escape her, shut her up in a tree, through a hole of which she escaped as a frog, and may still be heard croaking for her lover.[1]

The wide existence of the werwolf superstition may be taken as a sufficient example of the sorcerer's power to assume animal form. A wolf is the witch's favourite animal-shape in European folk-belief, though other animal forms were taken; a tiger is favoured in India, in Malaysia, and among the Abipones; a leopard, hyena, or crocodile in Africa; a cat in China and among the Negroes of America; a hare or fox in China; a jaguar in New Guinea; and among the American-Indians, the bear, fox, wolf, owl, or snake.[2] Usually, though not always, the animal most feared in any country is the animal chosen for the witch disguise. Wherever the superstition is encountered the same sequence of ideas is found; the animal is wounded and disappears, and soon after a witch is found with a corresponding wound, proving beyond a doubt that she was the animal in question. Innumerable folk-tales, European,

[1] Brett, p. 76.

[2] For the superstition see Nydault, *De la Lycanthropie* (Paris, 1599); Hertz, *Der Werwolf*. Among northern nations the same superstition attached to the bear (Dasent, lxii.). Other animals which supplied the witch disguise in Europe were the crow, toad, dog, black cat, hare, and sometimes even a dolphin or whale (see Reuss, *La Sorcière*, p. 81; Thorpe, ii. *passim*; Dalyell, *Superstitions of Scotland*, pp. 50, 53, 189; Leland, *E.R.R.*, pp. 113, 221 *seq.*; Jones, lxii.; *F.L.J.*, i. 53, 354; Rhys, *C.F.*, i., p. 294; *H.L.*, p. 198; Henderson, 166; Hibbert, p. 599. For *India*, see Crooke, ii. 211; Dalton, p. 290; *Malaysia*, Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 160 *seq.*; *Africa*, Burton, *Zanzibar*, i. 304; Reade, p. 419; Dennett, pp. 5, 10; Du Chaillu, *Ashango Land*, p. 52; Nassau, 200; *China*, Dennys, p. 70; *American-Indians*, Dorman, p. 248; *American Negroes*, Leland, *E.R.R.*, 221; *Abipones*, Dobrizhoffer, ii. 77; *New Guinea*, Brett, p. 187. All those animal forms were also believed in these various countries to be worn by spirits and demons. The werwolf superstition was already known to the Greeks and Romans. I have referred to the subject in the last chapter, p. 455.

Indian, Malaysian, African, and from Guiana, with these ideas occurring in a monotonous similarity, might be cited.[1]

People who are neither divinities nor witches have the power of transformation in many tales. Sometimes it is given them by friendly animals ;[2] at other times by a wizard, as in a Malagasy tale. Andrianoro would a-wooing go, and advised by a wizard took the form of three lemons, then of bluish water in the middle of a lake, then of a vegetable seed. All these objects were avoided as suspicious by the three maidens whom he would fain capture, but at last, as an ant, he leaped upon one of them as she came down from the sky, and forced her to become his wife.[3] But frequently the hero or heroine is personally gifted with the power of shape-shifting, as in the classical myths of divine amours the animal form is assumed to gain access to the presence of the beloved. One of Prior's *Danish Ballads*, and the Scots *Earl of Mar's Daughter*, tell of a knight who, as in the latter, says,

> "I am a doo the livelong day,
> A sprightly youth at night."[4]

A Polynesian story contains the same idea. Rupe wished to visit his sister Ine across the sea, and begged a bird to carry him over. The bird agreed, and, Rupe entering it, flew across the waves, and on the shore changed into human form, to his sister's joy.

[1] *Cf.* Thorpe, *Y.T.S.*, p. 5 ; Naake, p. 135 ; Skeat, p. 161 ; for an African example, see p. 163 ; Brett, p. 187.

[2] See p. 239.

[3] *F.L.J.*, i. 202.

[4] Prior, iii. 206 ; Buchan, i. 46. We may compare with these the Hindu belief in monstrous rakshasis who assume the form of beautiful women to gain the love of men. See p. 291. A chief's wife, in a Guiana tale, has a lover who takes the form of a jaguar to swim across the river to her. The chief kills him, and his wife goes off to the forest and founds a tribe of women. Day, *passim ;* Brett, p. 180, *cf.* another tale of a lover in form of a tapir, p. 196.

This is a curious variant of the idea that the animal shape results from donning the animal's skin or feathers, as in many tales like the Dindjé story of a man who found an eagle's coat, and putting it on, became an eagle.[1] But frequently the transformation is less mechanical. At Inishkeen is preserved the skin of a seal, of which the following story is told. Years ago, a girl was betrothed to a "dacent boy" called Rooney. One day they were upset in their coracle by a squall. The girl sank in spite of Rooney's efforts to save her, but as she sank she told him she would become a white seal and sing to him. One winter night Rooney started up, declaring he heard her singing, and rushed out. Next morning he was found on the beach with a white seal clasped to his breast.[2] Less beautiful but equally quaint is an Aino story, in which a hunter pursued a herd of deer, some of which he slew with poisoned arrows. But the deer were human beings, the enemies of his tribe, and now they resumed their form and continued the fight. Such feats are common in Eskimo tales, one of which describes a man who turned himself into a reindeer (in a variant, a hare) while dancing, and back again into a man, to amuse his friends. In another story a man fails in some feat, and is so ashamed that he turns into a reindeer until the feeling of shame wears off. Similar powers are known to Hottentot story. A man and woman were travelling, when some horses appeared. The man asked his companion to turn herself into a lion and kill one, protesting that he would not be afraid of the metamorphosis. Hair appeared at the back of her neck, her nails became claws, her features altered, and the woman bounded off as a lion. Meanwhile the man had climbed a tree in terror, nor would he come down

[1] Gill, p. 94; Petitot, p. 56, *cf.* p. 348.
[2] *J.A.I.*, ii. 448.

until she had reversed the process, which he never again asked her to repeat.[1]

(4) This idea of self-transformation enters into the *Transformation Combat* cycle of stories. The hero of these stories is usually in the power of a sorcerer (sometimes he has been promised to him before birth),[2] whose magic he learns and then takes advantage of. In the Norse version the boy returns to his father and tells him he will change himself into a horse, which the father is to sell. When the bargain is completed the boy resumes his shape and comes home again. This unparalleled feat of horse-couping might have been repeated *ad infinitum* but one day the father forgot to take off the head-stall, which, so long as it remained on him prevented Jack from retransforming himself. He was sold to Farmer Weathersky, none other than the sorcerer. One day a girl took off the head-stall; Jack leapt into the water and became a fish. The sorcerer pursued him as a pike. He emerged as a dove, the sorcerer as a hawk. Jack flew into the window of a princess, and after taking his own form momentarily, changed into a ring on her finger. Meanwhile the king had become sick and the sorcerer came in his true shape to heal him, asking this ring as reward. The princess let it fall into the ashes; the sorcerer turned into a cock and was about to pick it up, when the ring became a fox and gobbled him up.[3] The series of transformations, though occasionally different, occurs in Danish, Albanian, Greek, Servian, Georgian, Russian, German, and Kalmuck versions, as well as in a Scots ballad.[4] But as a rule the ring (or flower,

[1] Batchelor, edit. i. 314; Rink, pp. 219, 459; Bleek, p. 57.

[2] See p. 430. [3] Dasent, p. 342.

[4] Thorpe, *Y.T.S.*, p. 364; Grundtvig, i. 248; Dozon, p. 135; Garnet, ii. 143, *cf.* Hahn, No. 68; Mijatovich, pp. 191, 206; Wardrop, p. 1; Ralston, p. 229; Julg, p. 1; Child, *Eng. and Scot Ballads*, pt. ii. 399, "The Two Magicians."

fruit, etc.) changes to grain, which the magician, as a fowl, is about to pick up, when it becomes a fox or hawk and kills him. There are many Eastern versions, of which a Tamil story bears the closest resemblance to the European stories. Here the transformations are, for the hero, horse, fish, buffalo, parrot, which the princess keeps as a pet. One night the hero assumes his true shape and warns the princess. The sorcerer appears as a rope-dancer, and asks the parrot as his reward. She, as advised, wrings its neck; it becomes a pearl in her necklace. The magician asks it; she scatters the pearls on the ground, where they become worms, which change into a cat who seizes the magician as a fowl. The king now rushes in, and the magician is reconciled to his pupil.[1]

The same conflict appears in other settings. The story of the second calender in the *Arabian Nights* describes how the princess summoned the genie, who had changed the hero into a monkey. He appears as a huge lion, which she cuts in two. The head becomes a scorpion, the princess a serpent; both turn into eagles; then into a cat and a wolf; the cat becomes a worm, and then a pomegranate; the wolf, changed into a cock, pecks up the seeds. One of them becomes a fish, the cock pursues it as a pike; both resume their original forms, and the genie is finally vanquished by the princess's superior flame-producing powers. The incident is found in one of the Gaelic tales of the Feinne. Fair Chief is attacked by Tree Lion. Both change into bulls; next into asses; lastly into hawks, when Fair Chief tears out the heart and liver of the other, and resumes his true shape. In Welsh folk-story it is attached to the history of Taliesin. The witch Ceridwen chased Gwion, who

[1] Clouston, i. 436, with other Eastern parallels. For a Mongol story, see Busk, p. 4.

had mastered her magic. He became a hare, a fish, a bird, a grain of wheat; she a greyhound, an otter, a hawk, and a hen which swallowed the grain of wheat. Nine months after, the witch gave birth to a son, Taliesin (none other than Gwion), whom she cast into the sea.[1] Though such a story as this is sometimes used to prove the Celtic (Druidic) doctrine of metempsychosis, it really proves nothing more than that a folk-tale of wide occurrence has been grafted on to a Celtic mythological cycle, as in the Gaelic story from Campbell's collection. The same thing has occurred in Hindu mythology as where it is told of Vikramaditya that he cut an opponent into two; each half became a new man. These he cut into four; four men resulted; into eight, eight men appeared. Then Vikramaditya changed himself into eight lions, which fell on the men and destroyed them.[2] So Proteus, in Greek mythology, was caught hold of by Menelaus as he lay asleep. He changed himself into a bearded lion, a snake, a pard, a boar, running water, a tree; still Menelaus held him, and resuming his true form he submitted to answer the hero's questions.[3] But when we find such a story among the Red Indians, we see how little entitled we are to attach any doctrinal meaning to it wherever found. Over and over again the mythologies and sacred books of all religions, Greek, Hindu, Japanese, preserve folk-tales as part of the history of the gods. We must regard them none the less as folk-tales and nothing more. The Red Indian story tells how Efwa-éké changed himself successively into a tree, a bear, an elan, a castor, and a corpse, to deceive his enemies.[4]

[1] Campbell, ii. 424; Lady Guest, *Mabinogion*, iii. 358.

[2] Busk, p. 289.

[3] *Odyssey*, iv. 400, 450 *seq.* *Cf.* p. 24 for the same idea in the True Bride cycle.

[4] Petitot, 223. Benfey explains the origin of the Transformation Combat by disputes between Buddhists and Brahmans.

(5) Another class of Transformation incidents is that in which the hero has fallen into the hands of an ogre, witch, etc. (usually by the rash promise of his father).[1] He is set various tasks, in which he is assisted by the daughter of his captor, and then flees with her. In the pursuit which follows, the girl (1) transforms her lover and herself, or (2) throws down various objects which are transformed into obstacles stopping the pursuit. The uniformity in the order of the incidents of such tales, and in the nature of the transformations involved, as well as in the frequent occurrence of the subsequent incident of the hero's forgetting his lover through her mother's curse or through his breaking the girl's command, suggests a common origin for all the versions, although these are found not only in Europe, but in Africa and Samoa, while episodes of the cycles are known to the Red Indians, Hottentots, Tartars, Ainos, and Malagasy.

(*a*) The Magyar story of Handsome Paul will serve as a type of the first group. Paul has been captured by a sorcerer king, but escapes with his daughter in the shape of a magic foal. The king pursues in the form of an eagle; the foal turns a somersault and becomes a millet-field, and turns Paul into its guardian. When the eagle comes up and inquires for the fugitives, Paul tells him they passed when the millet was sown. The eagle returns home, but is reviled by his wife for being so easily taken in. Off he goes again; the foal this time becomes a lamb and Paul a shepherd, who tells the eagle that the fugitives passed when the lamb was born. The third time the pair become a chapel and its ministering priest, while the eagle is told that the fugitives passed when the chapel was building. The eagle, on his third return home, received a terrible scolding from his wife, who now set off as a falcon.

[1] See p. 419 *infra*.

The foal told Paul it would not be so easy to hoodwink her; "I will be a lake of milk, and you a golden duck swimming in it; take care she doesn't catch you, or we are done for." The queen is unable to do anything, but before leaving the lake pronounces a curse on the pair, that they should forget each other altogether. At sunset this curse fulfils itself. They take service in a king's house, where sometime after they both dream that the sorcerer king and queen are dead. This brings everything to their recollection, and next time they meet they recognise each other.[1]

In some variants the couple escape on horseback, and the horse is also transformed; in others nothing is said of any horse; the Magyar version links the two together, for in it the heroine is the horse herself. Of the former class there are Breton, Portuguese, Russian, and Polish versions. The Breton has this series of tranformations—horse, hero, and maiden, into garden, gardener, and pear-tree; then into church, priest, and altar; lastly into river, boat, and boatman. The Portuguese adds still more to the complexity; in it there are two horses which are turned into earth, the harness into a garden, the girl into a lettuce, and the hero into the gardener; next into hermitage, altar, statue of saint, and priest; third, into sea, boat, boatman, and fish. The Russian series are—horses into well, girl into bowl, prince into old man; in the second, nothing is said as to the horses, but the girl becomes a ruined church and the hero an aged priest; lastly, the horses become a river of honey, the girl a duck, and the hero a drake. In the Polish version Bony's daughter changes the horse into a raven, herself into a river, the prince into a bridge, and makes the highway split into three roads. Next appears a

[1] Jones, p. 32. For some other instances, see p. 418 *infra*. The twofold dream of the deaths of the sorcerers is a curious instance of telepathy in folk-tale. See p. 43 *supra*.

gloomy forest with innumerable paths, down which a horse with two riders is hastening, when suddenly everything vanishes. Lastly come bell, church, and priest just outside Bony's dominions, and he has to return empty-handed.[1]

Where the horse is omitted we have as in Lorraine, Sicily, and Germany, (1) tree and woman, or garden and gardener, or thorn-bush and rose; (2) hermitage and hermit; (3) fish and river or pond.[2] These transformations are also found in a Swedish version with two ducks instead of the fish; a Tyrolese story has (1) garden and gardener, (2) lake and fisherman, (3) church and priest; while in the Esthonian variant we have (1) stream and fish, (2) rose-briar and rose, (3) puff of wind and gnat.[3]

The same story appears among the Croats and in Iceland, while a version of it is found among the Red Indians, but in a different setting. Master Rabbit incurred the wrath of Lusifee, the wild cat, who hunted him down. Rabbit stuck up a twig and changed it into a wigwam, and himself into an old man who entertained Lusifee all night. Next morning when Lusifee woke, all was "gas and gaiters"—he was lying on the snow, and nothing was to be seen. Off he went again, and came up to a village full of people, and a church with service going on. The chief lodged him for the night, but when he woke he found himself in a swamp. A third time he was deceived, and last of all Rabbit threw a chip into a lake; it became a ship with the hero as captain standing on the deck. Lusifee jumped into the lake, when the captain gave the order to fire; the shot

[1] Sebillot, i. No. 13. Coelho, No. 14. *F.L.J.*, ii. 15.

[2] Cosquin, i. 103. Gonzenbach, No. 54. Grimm, p. 113.

[3] Thorpe, *Y.T.S.*, p. 222. Schneller, No. 27. Kirby, i. 152. Thorpe gives many Swedish versions, all of them interesting. The pursuer is usually a mermaid, to whom the hero has been promised.

was really caused by night-hawks swooping down with a noise like a volley, but it so frightened Lusifee that he swam ashore and fled. Mr Leland, while admitting the church and ship incidents to be borrowed, maintains that the rest is pure Indian and of ancient date.[1] We shall meet with another American-Indian pursuit tale presently.

A Siberian Tartar story while containing the central incident also lacks the usual introduction, etc. Ai Tolysy, having stolen a young girl, was pursued by her three brothers, whereupon she turned his horse into a poplar, and Ai Tolysy and herself into crows, which watched the brothers careering past. On such a story as this we may conceive the original version of the cycle to have been built up.[2] Compare now a Hottentot story, in which some girls are enticed away by men who intend to kill them. One of them escaped with her sister; they were pursued, but hid themselves. Later, they were discovered and again pursued, when they turned themselves into trees, while the beads they wore became gum on the trees. The men ate of it and fell asleep, when the girls smeared it on their eyes and made good their escape.[3] The central idea of our cycle—transformation following on pursuit—is thus found at a savage level of culture, proving whence it was originally derived. Among the stories of this cycle it should be noted that when the lake or river transformation occurs last, the pursuer begins to drink it up till he or she bursts. In all, the ogre is stupid, but his wife is more alert, and sees through the disguises. She either accompanies her husband in the last pursuit or goes herself. We may see in her superior cleverness the dim memory of the time when female ability led the

[1] Krauss, i. 48. Arnason, p. 380. Leland, *A.L.*, p. 212. For another Red Indian story, *cf. Legends of the Wigwam*, p. 61.

[2] Radloff, ii. 202. [3] Bleek, p. 81.

van of primitive civilisation.[1] Lastly, the incident of the hero forgetting the heroine, which appears as the result of a curse in the Magyar version, is not a necessary part of this cycle, as many versions lack it; while frequently the curse is omitted, and the heroine warns the hero not to kiss anyone on entering his home. He does so, and at once forgets her, and she is only restored to him after a long time of trial and waiting.[2]

(*b*) Stories of the transformation of objects divide themselves into several groups, of which the first resembles some of those cited already. The hero escapes with a witch's or ogre's daughter. When the pursuit begins, she bids him throw down certain objects which she sometimes produces from the horse's ears, or, in some versions, the horse itself supplies them.[3] In a Magyar story these objects are a comb, a brush, and a horse-rug, which all change into a dense forest, impeding the witch. She takes the shape of a pigeon; the pony becomes a vulture and tears her to pieces. The objects in a Gaelic tale are a sprig of sloe, a piece of stone, and a bladder of water, which become a forest, a rocky barrier, and a loch, in which last the giant is drowned. In a Basque story the heroine, after leaving her spittle behind to speak in her voice and so deceive her father, throws up her comb thrice and produces a

[1] *Cf.* Pearson, ii. 48, etc.

[2] Mr Lang has an interesting paper on the whole story—tasks, transformation, and forgotten lover—in *Custom and Myth*, p. 64.

[3] The best instance is the Norse "Master-maid." Drops of blood from her finger deceive her father for a time. Then she drops the magical objects which delay pursuit. Then follows the oblivion incident and her restoration to her lover—Dasent, p. 62. In this connection the group of Tabu stories, in which a friendly horse assists the tabu-breaker to escape, and advises him to take certain objects which afterwards bar pursuit in the usual way, should be noted. They are discussed in chap. xi., p. 310.

hedge, fog, hail, and storm, and a river; while in an Irish version the daughter of Grey Norris throws its puppies to the dog he sends after her lover and herself, then some drops of water become a sea, a needle, and a forest of iron, which stopped all further pursuit.

Without referring to any of the other European versions, I shall note Basuto, Kafir, and Aino tales in which the incident occurs. A Basuto woman sent her husband to obtain for her the liver of a *nyamatsane*—a fabulous animal. Having killed one of them, he escaped from their village with the liver and a brilliant stone which he picked up in the hut. Presently the *nyamatsanes* pursued him, and taking the stone he threw it to the ground when it became a precipitous rock, on whose top he seated himself. The animals tried in vain to climb it, and by night the man escaped, though we are not told how he reduced the rock to its pebble form. Several times in succession he repeated the process, and at last arrived safely at his village. In the Kafir tale, Sikulume goes off with a chief's daughter, who takes with her an egg, a milk-sack, a pot, and a smooth stone, which become a mist, a sheet of water, darkness, and a precipice. This last the father cannot climb, and the pair, like Christian, go on their way and see him no more. The Aino story tells how a "divine stranger" stole his treasures and his sister from Okikurumi, the Aino culture-hero. Here no object was thrown down, but the girl made a mountain in the midst of the sea, the sight of which sent Okikurumi home dispirited. A story from the Japanese *Ko-ji-ki* may be cited at this stage. The divinity the Male Who Invites went to Hades to rescue his dead consort. There, however, his impatience ruined all, and he had to flee, pursued by the Ugly Female of Hades. First, he threw down his head-dress, which turned into grapes; these the hag stayed to eat; next his comb turned

into bamboo-sprouts, which also delayed her, and thus he made good his escape.[1]

The next group belongs to the Forbidden Chamber cycle. The hero, who has broken the command of his captor, or of his father, usually finds a horse in the chamber, on whose back he escapes. In all the stories of this group the horse advises the hero to take certain objects from his captor's house, or else produces them when the pursuit begins. These objects transformed put an end to the pursuit. In the Lorraine version the prince, mounted on Bayard, is pursued by his father on Moreau. The horse gives him a sponge, telling him to throw it as high and as far as he can. It becomes a vast forest, through which Moreau bursts. A curry-comb becomes a huge river, but the pursuers cross it. Lastly, a stone becomes a mountain of razors, on which Moreau cuts his hoofs, and the king is obliged to return home. In the Tyrolese version, a comb, a pair of scissors, and a mirror become a hedge, a forest, and a lake; a Russian version has glove and brush changed into forest and range of mountains; with the Lapps, sulphur, a stone, and a comb turn into a sheet of water, a musket, and a forest. Greek, Norse, Roumanian, Basque, and Lettish versions, the last lacking the tabu incident, may be mentioned.[2]

Strangest of all is it to meet not only with the transformation episode, but with all the other incidents of the complete European folk-tale—tasks, flight, and transformation, and the forgotten lover, in a tale from Samoan mythology. Siati, the hero, was

[1] Jacottet, p. 7. Theal, p. 81. Chamberlain, p. 52. For Serbian and Sicilian stories, see Mijatovich, p. 84; Crane, p. 71. The latter has the ogress's curse issuing in the lover forgetting the maiden. *Ko-ji-ki*, p. 36. For another S. African pursuit story, but with a rock which opens at the magic song of the fugitive, see p. 268.

[2] Cosquin, i. 134. Schneller, No. 20. Naake, p. 124. Hahn, p. 45. Asbjoernsen, i. 86. Ralston, p. 27. Webster, p. 111.

set various tasks by the god whose daughter, Puapae, he had won. She helped him; both then fled from her father. Puapae threw down her comb to stop her father; it became a bush of thorns. A bottle of earth became a mountain, and a bottle of water a sea, which drowned the god and another daughter. In the sequel, when Siati remembered his forgotten wife, he fell dead—an incident which contrasts with the happy ending of European tales. The existence of this complete variant as a divine myth suggests that, as the story was probably not independently evolved, it must have reached Samoa in long past ages, how we do not know. We have just seen a parallel case of a similar folk-tale occurring as a Japanese divine myth.[1]

Various tales relate how the hero is pursued because he has plundered certain valuable possessions, which, in some cases, aid him in his flight. The following episode is related in the Finnish *Kalevala* and *Kanteletar*. Turo, son of Jumala, went to recover the sun and moon, which had been stolen. Arrived in the devil's country, he saw three girls polishing these heavenly bodies, which he at once fled with. Soon he found all the devils on his track. Taking a pebble from his breast, he said a charm over it; it became a mountain. Then a comb became a forest of iron pines, which effectually barred the way. The hero of a Siamese story stole certain objects from a yak or ogress who pursued him. One of these changed into countless sharp rods; another into a mountain; she removed both, but having found that, by virtue of the third object, "seas between them braid ha'e rolled," she left off the pursuit. A similar story comes from the Deccan. In another Indian and in a Kashmir story the objects which are to stay

[1] Turner, p. 102. See Mr Lang's remarks on this tale, "swept like a piece of drift-wood on to the coasts of Samoa," in *Custom and Myth*, p. 97, and in his introduction to Miss Cox's *Cinderella*.

the pursuit of the rakshasa are given to the hero by another rakshasa's daughter, who is in love with him. A Malagasy version tells of three brothers who steal a pebble, a reed, a rush, and an egg from certain witches whom they have sent to bring water in a sieve. The reed is planted, a forest springs up; so the rush produces a thicket; the egg becomes a lake. Then the brothers stand on the pebble, which changes to a huge rock. After bidding the witches fix spears in the ground, they pull them up with ropes, which are cut when the boy is nearly reached, and the witches are impaled.[1]

With the stories of this group we may compare one from the mythological cycle of Manabush, current among the Menomini Indians. A boy who had saved his brothers from the Bear Chief, whom, with his bear servants, he had destroyed, thought he had better go far away lest the surviving bears should destroy him. Before he left, his sister gave him a stone ornament and a handful of blue berries, which he was to use as she instructed him. He had not gone far before he heard the bears pattering after him. Taking one of his magic arrows he shot it in the air, saying, "When you come down, there shall be about you a copse covering an area as wide as the range of an arrow. There I shall hide myself." The copse delayed the bears for some time, but they soon came near the boy, who ran off again. He repeated the arrow ruse twice, and directed a fourth arrow to become a marsh, from the middle of which there should be a trail by which he should escape. Through this the bears also struggled, but as they neared the boy he bethought him of the stone ornament. He threw it up; it became a cliff, from the top of which he threw

[1] *Folk-Lore*, 1895, p. 343 (from the *Kalevala*). *Asiatic Researches*, xx. 347. Frere, p. 62. *Somadeva*, bk. vii. chap. 39, earth, water, thorns, and fire become a mountain, a river, and a forest, which the fire ignites. Knowles, p. 49. *F.L.J.*, ii. 131.

down rocks on his pursuers, killing many of them. Descending the other side of the cliff, he fled, but the surviving bears found his trail and, faint yet pursuing, made after him. They tried their utmost to capture the boy, that they might allay their hunger, but now he threw down the berries, which became bushes laden with fruit, which the bears fell upon at once. When they had satisfied their hunger, they concluded that the boy was too much of a mystery to trouble themselves further about him.[1]

Sometimes a girl, escaping from a witch, eludes pursuit in the same way. Russian versions tell how a cat, to whom she had been kind, gave a maiden a towel and a comb, which turned into a river and a forest, while some inanimate object left behind by her simulated her voice. A Samoyede girl threw behind her a whetstone, a gunflint, and a comb, which were transformed into a river, a mountain, and a forest; while the Kirghiz have a similar story of a maiden whose comb becomes a forest and her handglass a huge lake.[2]

In other stories a girl escapes from her ravisher with the aid of certain heroes. An Italian version is curious. Seven brothers rescued a girl from a ghûl; Nardo's spittle became a sea; Cola's hairpin a field of razors; Micco's bough a forest; Petrullo changed water into a river; Ascadeo turned a stone into a fortress, in which all hid and from the walls of which Ceccone blinded the ghûl with an arrow. A similar story is found among the Kukis of South India. Two youths carried off Kimgori from a wer-tiger, and threw down "seeds of fire," which consumed the jungle; "seeds of water," which became a river; and

[1] *Bureau of Ethnology, 14th Annual Report*, p. 196. For the earlier part of this story, see p. 379, where I have referred to the genuineness of this series of myths, as also on p. 380.

[2] Ralston, p. 142. Cosquin, i. 152. Radloff, iii. 383. *Cf.* a Kabyle version in Rivière, p. 209.

"seeds of thorns," which changed into a thicket. The wer-tiger conquered these difficulties, but finally had his head cut off by one of the heroes. It is not impossible that the Italian tale, which occurs in the *Pentamerone*, is merely a literary form of some such tale as this from Eastern sources. But here is a Malagasy parallel. In this story there is no rescuer, but the heroine, Ifara, is warned by a mouse to take with her an egg, a broom, a cane, and a stone. She leaves a plantain-tree stem in bed to personate her. Here the transformations are—egg to pond, broom to thicket, cane to forest, stone to precipice, from which Ifara throws the monster down, impaling him on his own spear.[1]

Analogous to these pursuit episodes are the following. The Esthonian *Kalevipoeg* tells of a sorcerer who, when the hero of the epic came to avenge the abduction of his mother, blew a handful of feathers from him, uttering magic words. They became an armed host. So in the Finnish *Kalevala* Lemminkainen created a flock of birds from feathers, to appease an eagle which barred his way to Pohjola, or Hades. Esthonian sorcerers raise floods to sweep away fugitives or to baffle pursuit, just as in Red Indian tales a magician from whom a hero has rescued his sisters changes their halting-place each night into a precipice, a desert island, a marsh, etc.[2]

It is not improbable that, in the earliest form of this incident of the transformed objects there was no transformation at all, only some object thrown down delayed the pursuer, as Atalanta was delayed by the golden apples of Hippomenes. We have met with an incident of this kind in the Menomini story,

[1] Basile, *Pentamerone* (Burton), i. 47. Lewin, *Lushai Dialect*, p. 85. *F.L.J.*, i. 234. The formula of impaling the pursuer has been already noted; it occurs in several Malagasy tales.

[2] Kirby, i. 40. *Kalevala*, canto xxvi. Kirby, i. 105, 107, 108. Petitot, pp. 204, 398.

combined with that of the transformed objects. At a later time the inventive power of the story-teller suggested that these objects should be transformed.[1] In Angola, a woman pursued by her cannibal husband, threw down millet, sesamum, and eleusine, which delayed her husband. He cried, "Pick, pick up! A fruit, don't waste it!" and his thrift lost him his wife. In a Kashmir tale three dogs are successively sent after a king by the jinn who has decoyed him. Advised by the jinn's wife, he throws down certain biscuits, which the dogs stay to eat. We have already seen how, in the Japanese myth, the hag stays to eat the objects which have been formed by transformation. It forms a link between the simpler and more complex tales. Elsewhere the eating formula is varied. Thus in a Maori legend which has some likeness to the Japanese myth, the spirit of a woman who had died went to Reigna, the place of the dead. There she met her father, who said she must go back to her child at home, as there was no one to nurse it. At the same time he cautioned her to eat no food offered her in Reigna, else she would never leave it.[2] Acting on this advice, she refused the food offered her by the spirits, and was thus able to leave the spirit land. As she did so, her father gave her two huge roots of kumara to plant for her child. But on her

[1] A variant of this idea occurs in a Basuto tale, where a girl escapes with her friends from the chief, who had forced her to be his wife. Whenever the pursuers draw near, a magic sheep dances before them, and they are forced in spite of themselves to stay and watch it. Then it suddenly disappears and they resume the pursuit, only to be stopped again by it. Jacottet, p. 250.

[2] To eat the food of the world of the dead or of fairyland, invariably prevents the visitor's escape. So, too, in the Babylonian myth (p. 64), if the visitor to the heaven of the gods eats their immortal food, he becomes a god and immortal, as the Polynesian Ina became an immortal goddess by being sprinkled with the water of immortality, in which her divine husband renewed his youth every month (p. 63). Eating the food of a strange tribe establishes kinship with them, in primitive belief.

way to the upper air the spirits of two infants tried to retain her. She threw down one of the roots, one of the infants remained to eat it. The other held her fast, but him, too, she tempted with the second root, and so made good her escape. In an Irish story already cited, the fugitives threw down puppies to the bitch pursuing them; she stopped to pick them up. A Kafir tale relates how Ironside advised his sister when she fled with her child from her cannibal husband, to pluck tufts of hair from the child's head and scatter them in all directions. Each of these spoke in her voice, and the pursuers were utterly confused. In an Eskimo story a girl and her rescuer escape from a whale by throwing away her garments one by one, thus delaying the pursuing animal. Again, in the classic story of Jason, when he and Medea escape after he has by her help performed the tasks set him and won the golden fleece, she stays her pursuing father by throwing down the mutilated body of her brother. It should be observed also that in Samoa a curious ruse was adopted by members of the seaweed clan, who threw seaweed into the sea to hinder the enemy's flight. If the enemy tried to pick it up it sank, but rose again when any of the clan paddled up to it. And Grimm informs us that a favourite device for escaping from witches was to throw down something which would tempt their avaricious nature, just as Rolf delayed his pursuers by casting down gold.[1]

Thus, given the idea of a pursuer delayed by some object thrown down—a likely enough incident (we have all heard of travellers escaping from wolves by such a device)—and granted the idea of transformation, which was everywhere current, the story artist skilfully combined his informa-

[1] Shortland, p. 150. Chatelain, p. 99. Knowles, p. 210. Theal, p. 123. Rink, p. 126. Turner, p. 71. Grimm, *D.M.*, p. 1079. Vigfusson and Powell, *Corpus Poet. Boreale*, i. 190, "Lay of Rolf Kraki."

tion, as in the Red Indian story of the boy and the bears he combined both incidents, and produced the delightful episode of the transformation flight. To transform the fugitives themselves was the next step, easy enough to take when the belief in the possibility of human shape-shifting was already current coin.

It should be observed that, as a rule, the transformations produced are extensions of the objects thrown down — water, sea; stone, mountain or precipice; reed or twig, forest; or they may be supposed to resemble them, *e.g.*, the serrated comb becomes a forest or a range of mountains, the pebble a precipice (in Eastern, Malagasy, and Red Indian tales), the mirror a lake, etc. That they should produce something so much greater than themselves is not surprising to those who have studied the belief in sympathetic magic. Like produces like, according to this philosophy, because likeness is equivalent to cause and effect, even though the effect may be stupendous in comparison with the cause. Such objects, too, as the magical possessions of witch or sorcerer, "may typify the influence which the supernatural beings to whom they belonged were supposed to exercise over the elements."[1]

Was there ever a time in which these various forms of transformation were deemed natural? The evidence of savage psychology proves beyond a doubt that such a time did exist. It presupposes that theory of things, already alluded to, called animism, in which men, animals, and inanimate objects are all equally supposed to be alive, usually by virtue of the possession of a spirit or soul, and to have similar passions, powers, and faculties, though usually animals are credited with greater powers and keener wits

[1] Ralston, p. 143. The value of the comb in primitive life as an ordinary or a magic possession has been noted by Campbell, i. lxxi. *seq.*, and Miss Garnett, ii. 437. Its occurrence on early Celtic monuments also points to the value set on it.

than men. Two aspects of this theory of the universe have aided the rise of the belief in Transformation. (1) It is thought that the spirit, human or animal, can leave its enclosing body and wander about or take up its residence temporarily in another body. Thus the spirit of a man may for the nonce enter into an animal or a tree. (2) This, with the belief in the underlying similarity of all things, hinders men from having a definite idea of personality. Personality is not fixed and unalterable: it may assume a hundred protean disguises. Hence it is nothing surprising to the savage if what he now sees as a man, immediately after he sees as an animal or a bush. Wherever we trace the working of the savage mind—in Australia, Africa, Greenland, Melanesia, or elsewhere—these ideas are found unaltered, and they are ideas which once governed the minds of the ancestors of all civilised races. There is thus obtained a practical and working belief, the idea that men, animals, and spirits or gods may all, from time to time, assume some other form than their own. The transformation incidents of our folk-tales are, or have been, in fact, believed as everyday occurrences by all men everywhere.

The rise of the institution known as Totemism,[1] with its central doctrine of the close kinship between a human clan and an animal species, aided the acceptance of what, to us, must seem an incredible dogma. Partly as a result of totemism, partly as the product of man's myth-making fancies, stories everywhere arose of the solidarity of human and animal, of their origin from one primal stock. (1) Thus it is a common belief that, as the Algonquins say, "of old all animals were as men; the Master (Glooskap) gave them the shapes they now wear." Hence a great many stories all over the world explain certain markings or distinctive features of various animals as

[1] See pp. 249-274.

the result of what once happened to them when they were men, as in New Guinea, where a thief fell over a cliff and had his features flattened, turning into a dugong.[1] This is mainly a totem belief, as may be seen from the myths of Australians, a totemistic people with tribal septs called after animals. Thus two Weeoomben brothers asked some other black fellows to help them. The latter expected some reward, but on going to claim it saw only two little redbreasts sitting on a tree. Then they knew that these were the brothers transformed, and ever after redbreasts have been called Weeoomben. Men of a bird clan became the birds themselves—one out of many instances in which men and women are changed into animals, birds, or stars, which afterwards bear their names. The Wurrunnunnah were an industrious tribe, the Bunnyarl very lazy, and as time went on the former became bees, the latter idle flies—a transformation quite in keeping with Bishop Butler's theory of character becoming indelible.[2] (2) Again, we have such a belief as that held by the Hareskin Indians, that in the beginning men were animals and animals were men, but that the *rôles* were later inverted, or that once the owl was the eagle and the eagle the owl; or such a theory as that of the Zunis, who hold that all things were originally animals, and that now men, trees, stars, etc., are really degenerate animals, all possessing souls capable of leaving their bodies.[3] (3) Another theory is that once men were animals who became men. This is a common

[1] Leland, *A.L.*, p. 109. Romilly, p. 133. The dressing in the totem-animal skin at sacred dances, or in bear-skins before a bear-hunt, or the custom of wearing animal masks in war, would all aid the belief in transformation. The frenzy of the dance would suggest self-transformation to the dancer, while the frightened enemy would imagine he had human animals for antagonists. For references to these practices, see Dorman, p. 248 *seq.*

[2] Parker, pp. 19, 106.

[3] Petitot, pp. 275-6. Cushing, intro., p. ix.

Polynesian belief; in the Gilbert group it is thought that men were developed from fish, or in Eromanga that men were pigs, to whom the lizard gave their present shape; or we find it in a Tchippewaya story of a magician who found a lot of people living in darkness as hares, whom he changed into men by circumcising them,[1] (4) But, further, as a result of totemistic theories of animal descent, a clan or tribe of one totem who, for some reason or another, dislike the animal which is the totem of another clan, may easily come to regard the men of that clan as only half-human, or as altogether possessed of the nature of the animal they abhor. Stories of distant tribes, half-animal or liable to take animal form, may have arisen in this way. Thus the Déné Indians regard the otter as the personification of evil, and they have traditions of a race of men-otters. These are the Aleuts, to whom the otter is a totemistic guardian. Again, if a member of such a tribe captured a woman of the other tribe, it is easy to see how her friends would come to say that she had married an otter, and in this way legends of beast-marriage could be accounted for.

These primitive strivings after a Darwinian theory of the universe show how easily it became credible that men or animals might, for a time, resume the form which had once been theirs, or, for that matter, take any other. Where personality was in a state of unstable equilibrium, it was as easy to mould it to any shape as to form figures out of clay. Hence we are not surprised to learn, after reading collections of savage folk-tales—Aino, Fjort, Hottentot, in which animals speak and act precisely as men (so that their animal names are the only indication of what they are), are on the same level as human beings, or easily assume human form—that these stories have

[1] Turner, pp. 296, 330. Petitot, p. 400.

sprung out of the living, present-day beliefs of the people.[1]

The power of transformation is thus a current belief among savages, and sprang out of such conceptions as have been noted. The Bushman tale of the woman who became a lion, is the reflection of what every Bushman believes to be possible of his wife.[2] Many travellers have found savage witnesses of the act of transformation on the part of another man; while the force of the belief may not rest on a man's personal power of transformation, he readily admits that other men like himself have such a power. Hence we have beliefs in the existence of distant tribes who are men by night and fish by day (Arawaks); or appear now as bears, or gulls, or ravens, now as men (Eskimo); or take the form of crocodiles, to capture and eat other men (Fjort); or of foxes, who are men and women in all but the possession of a brush (Japan).[3] But, generally speaking, those who are mainly credited with the power of self-transformation, or of transforming other people, are medicine-men, shamans, or sorcerers. To multiply instances of their power here would be tedious; suffice it to say that wherever the medicine-man is found, "from China to Peru," among ancient Celts, Teutons, or Slavs, shape-shifting is always one of his magical powers. The majority of our folk-tales show that the magician, witch, ogre, or their daughter, or their whilom servant, all make use of this convenient gift. Where European folk-tales contain the transformation incident it is, almost invariably, the result of magical skill. No European peasant believes he can change his form, though his savage ancestors did; with him

[1] See the collections of Chamberlain, Dennett, and Bleek, for these respective peoples.

[2] Vide p. 163 *supra.*

[3] Im Thurn, p. 384. Rink, pp. 182, 451, etc. Dennett, p. 5. For the fox superstition, see *infra.*

the belief survives in his firmly-rooted opinion that every witch can do so. Witches and wizards are everywhere known to take the form of animals for various purposes, usually malignant, and one special branch of the witch superstition—that of the werwolf, cast a dark and weird shadow over the minds of men, and is, in remote places, scarcely extinct even now. The mediæval and later witch trials contain many examples of the alleged power of the sorceress to transform other people.[1] In fact as in folk-tale, witch and wizard are the lineal descendants of the ancient wise-woman or medicine-man, and, outside savage tales, the power of shape-shifting which they or ordinary mortals possess is invariably due to magical causes, *i.e.*, it has ceased to be natural as it once was, and has now become supernatural. This is clearly seen in the transformed objects which delay pursuit; they are magical properties to begin with, frequently stolen from a supernatural being or a witch, while in a Serbian variant, these magical objects, nuts, are not transformed, but when opened produce a river and a conflagration.[2]

The long survival of such a belief shows how strong human preconceptions may be in face of higher beliefs and calm reasoning, while their vividness is equally seen in the hallucinations of actual shape-shifting which they produced. These in turn must have helped to bolster up the belief itself. It is not at all unlikely, too, that the unfortunate victims of madness, imitating in their frenzy the cries and actions of various animals, may have suggested, in primitive and later times, certain aspects of the shape-shifting dogma, especially that of the werwolf, wer-

[1] Reuss, p. 66. The evidence was never first hand, and the same stories repeat themselves with monotonous frequency in thousands of trials. See the note on witchcraft in Gurney, *Phantasms of the Living*, vol. i. *Cf.* Podmore, *Modern Spiritualism*, i. 17 *seq.*

[2] Mijatovich, p. 84.

tiger, etc.[1] A study of the works of modern alienists will show how common such hallucinations are, and will suggest how readily they may have given rise to a belief in actual transformation when witnessed by men ignorant of their true causes. A savage instance is furnished by the Aino, who believe that a man who cries or acts like an animal, cat, dog, or bear, has been bewitched by the spirit of such an animal entering into him. Among the Abipones, if a sorcerer threatens to change himself into a tiger, and begins to imitate the animal's actions, the spectators through fear and excitement imagine they see the transformation going on. This is an excellent example of the medicine-man taking advantage of the preconceptions of the people. *Populus vult decipi, decipiatur!* Sometimes, as among the Ojibways, he will do this by dressing in the skin of the animal into which he is supposed to change, imitating its howls, until the spectators believe in the actuality of the transformation.[2]

One group of tales, those in which the transformation is effected by eating or drinking, may have had its origin in part in an actual witch practice. It is now known that many of the acts claimed to have been done by the witch—riding through the air, transformation, etc.—were simply hallucinations caused by swallowing certain herbs, like stramonium. Such herbs were often given by the witch to others, who then shared in these hallucinations.[3] In modern as in ancient Italy, it is believed that witches can transform people into animals or into members of the opposite sex, by giving them certain food.[4] Both

[1] *Cf.* Brierre de Boismont, *Traité des Hallucinations*, p. 327.

[2] Batchelor, p. 507 (2nd ed.). Dobrizhoffer, ii. 77. Jones, *Ojibways*, p. 145.

[3] Parish, *Hallucinations*, p. 40 *seq.* Reuss, *La Sorcière*, p. 133 *seq.*

[4] Leland, *E.R.R.*, p. 207. Hypnotism may also have been resorted to in order to suggest change into animal form. For the possibilities of this, see *Proc. Soc. Psych. Research*, i. 223; Gurney, *op. cit.*, i. 98.

Ovid and St Augustine speak of this in their own time. The Latin poet describes how a Naiad, by magic strains and by potent herbs, changed some youths into fishes, while the Christian theologian relates that Italian witches gave cheese to their guests who then turned into beasts and obeyed their commands, afterwards returning to their human form. Such beliefs, like the group of folk-tales in question, are evidently the reflection of the hallucinatory experiences of those who believed themselves transformed after swallowing such drugs as these referred to.

When we find such ideas as these the current coin of all races past and present, savage or civilised, we cannot be surprised at the exuberance of the transformation incidents in folk-tales. The story inventor used them as the modern novelist does any current and present-day practice or opinion, as the material of his tales. And, perhaps more than any other irrational incident of fairy stories, they still gained credence among the peasantry of Europe, who held that the witch had just such powers, and who were therefore all the less critical as to what might or might not have happened in the dark backward and abysm of time.

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CHAPTER VII

INANIMATE OBJECTS WITH HUMAN AND MAGICAL QUALITIES

THE preceding chapters have shown us certain primitive conceptions of human personality, how the spirit is a separable entity, and how a man may take another form than his own. We are now to see how all the attributes of human personality are freely ascribed to inanimate things, and how this conception occurs in the folk-tales of all races. Arranging these tales as far as possible in groups, we shall note how some are due to animistic, others to fetichistic ideas; others again to the belief in magic, sympathetic or mimetic.

(1) I shall begin with certain groups of stories the central ideas of which are directly due to that primitive mental confusion by which "all things, animate or inanimate, human, animal, vegetable, or inorganic, seem on the same level of life, passion, and reason."[1] One of the best-known forms which this conception takes in folk-story is that of the old woman and her pig, in which the dog is asked to bite the refractory pig, the stick to strike the dog, fire to burn the stick, water to put out the fire, the ox to drink the water, the butcher to kill the ox, the rope to hang the

[1] Such objects occur in those tales of a rose which speaks or sings, dancing-water, etc. See p. 59. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, ii.

butcher, the rat to gnaw the rope, and the cat to kill the rat. All refuse till the cat gets milk; then the order is obeyed, and each inanimate object and each animal does what is required, acting as if they were really human. No better example could be given of the supposed equality of human, animate, and inanimate which the primitive theory of animism, as defined by Dr Tylor's words just cited, announces. The story, which is of the type called cumulative, takes many forms in different countries, but is fundamentally the same. An Italian variant introduces a cock, wounded by a mouse, asking an old woman for a rag to bind his wound. She demands two hairs, which he begs from a dog. The dog asks bread; the cock goes to the baker, who, in turn, demands wood. This is asked for from the forest, but the forest expects some water first, which the fountain says it is willing to give. So at last through the long chain of causes, the poor cock gets his rag. The Berber version is not unlike this, but introduces a fly whose tail an old woman has pulled off. To redeem it he has to fetch a he-goat; the he-goat asks grass. Grass is demanded from the fig-tree, which begs for dung; this is obtained from the ox, and so the fly gets his tail. In a curious Hottentot version a cat bites a mouse, a dog bites the cat, wood beats the dog, fire consumes wood, water quenches fire, the elephant drinks water. Hence the dog and cat do not agree now.[1] The many variants of this story found in all countries, savage and civilised, as well as its form, prove it to have been of early origin, as

[1] The first variant is English, Halliwell, p. 114. *Cf.* a Scots version in Chambers, p. 57. The Italian version is given by Crane, p. 252, with variants; the Berber by Basset, p. 95. An ancient Greek version from Anacreon is given in *Mélusine*, iii. 140. For a Corsican variant, see Ortoli, p. 237; German, Grimm, No. 80; French, Bladé, No. 5; many others in Cosquin, No. 34, and *Romania*, No. 24 and No. 28; Gaelic, Campbell, i. 161. Bleek, p. 33. The Jewish ritual of the Passover incorporates a curious version.

indeed does the theory of animism on which it entirely depends.

In another group a whole series of objects under the power of a sorceress are helpful to the heroine, who has acted kindly to them. A good example is found in the Sicilian tale of Osella, who was sent by one witch to another, but warned by the King of Love as to what she must do. Following his advice, she drinks of a river of blood and says she has never tasted water like it; praises the fruit of a pear-tree, and the bread in an oven; feeds two dogs; sweeps and cleans the door and stair of the witch's house; and cleans her razor, scissors, and knife. The time comes when she has to flee from the witch, who calls on the razor, knife, and scissors to cut her in pieces. They reply that Osella has cleaned them, which the witch never did. She orders the door and staircase to swallow her up, but receives the same answer. Similarly, the dogs refuse to eat her, the oven to receive her, the tree to put her on the spit, and the river to drown her, and so she escapes.[1] This episode occurs in many stories of the Cupid and Psyche group. When the heroine has lost her mysterious husband and has gone to seek him, she falls into the power of a witch, sometimes his mother, sometimes the woman who enforces his marriage with her, or with her daughter. She sends her to another witch to obtain jewels for the wedding, meanwhile her husband meets her and advises her what to do. In the Danish variant she bolts the gate, which is ever swinging to and fro; feeds a flock of geese; gives two men oven-rakes and two girls iron ladles; feeds two dogs; and oils the hinges of the creaking door. When she leaves with the jewels, the witch bids the door jam her, the dogs to bite her, the girls and the men to scald and burn her, the geese to stamp upon her, and the gate to squeeze her; but all refuse, because

[1] Pitré, No. 18.

she has been so kind to them. There are several variants of this story, Swedish, Russian, etc. In the last a birch-tree is ordered to poke the girl's eyes out, but it refuses, because she has tied a ribbon round it—an evident reminiscence of some form of tree-worship, in which the tree is regarded as a living being.[1]

Analogous to these are certain tales, of which the Swedish Two Caskets is a good example. A woman pushed her stepdaughter into a well. The girl dropped on to a meadow, and came to a fence which said, "Do me no harm; I am old and decayed." She stepped carefully over it, and the fence gave her a friendly look and wished her well. She was equally kind to an oven, a cow, and an apple-tree, all of which were as grateful as the fence. The animals in the witch's house at which she presently arrived assisted her in the tasks set her, because she had been kind to them. Then by the cat's advice she took the dingy casket, which proved to be full of rich treasures, when she returned to her stepmother's house.[2] The jealous woman sent her own daughter into the well; she was disdainful of all the objects and creatures which her sister had helped. She came to grief, and chose a pretty casket which proved to be full of snakes and toads. The frank animism of this story, of which there are several versions, is remarkable.[3] A close

[1] Mulley, p. 224. Cavallius, No. 146. Ralston, p. 139.

[2] The incident of choosing the worst and getting the best, and *vice versâ*—the casket episode in the *Merchant of Venice*—is common in folk-tales, and is as old as the story of Cupid and Psyche. Psyche was told to refuse the fare which Persephone offered her, and to ask for coarse bread. It is also found in many Eastern tales, in Japan (Mitford, i. 249), among the Navajoes (Schoolcraft, iv. 90), and the Ashantis (Hutton, *Visit to Africa*, p. 20). In the two latter cases it forms a myth explaining the sad condition of the world now.

[3] Thorpe, *Y.T.S.*, p. 97. *Norse*, Dasent, 355 (hedge, cow, wether, and apple-tree). *German*, Grimm's *Frau Holle*. The *motif* of this story, which may be called that of "Kind and Unkind" has a wide distribution. We shall meet with it in studying the Youngest Son

parallel is afforded by an Indian story, in which the elder of a man's two wives is driven out by the younger. In her wanderings she came to a cotton-plant, made a small broom, and swept the ground around it, whereupon the plant gave her its blessing. The same service was performed for a plantain-tree, a Brahmani bull, and a tulasi-plant, and a similar blessing was obtained from each. In the sequel she received both youth and beauty by following a holy man's advice, while the bull gave her shells and the trees presented her with some of their leaves, and through the magical powers of these objects all her wishes were granted. The young wife now thought she might also be made more beautiful, but she despised bull and tree, and did not follow the holy

group. But here is a curious parallel from New Caledonia. There were two birds, Pivi and Kabo, the one bright and cheerful, the other an ugly croaker. Kabo broke Pivi's leg, but he, by obeying the orders of a woman, changed into a beautiful youth. He was to lie still while the Black Ant crawled over him, and to shake when the Red Ant did so. Then, when the transformation was effected, he was to climb a cocoa-nut tree without using his hands, and carry down the fruit. Having done this, he got two pretty wives as a reward. Kabo heard of it, and thought he might as well have his turn. He moved Pivi to break his leg, but when the woman found him he disobeyed all her instructions. He was changed to an ugly man, and had two old bags given him for his wives. In revenge he induced Pivi to dive into the sea and bring up a huge shell-fish. Poor Pivi was swallowed by the fish, and Kabo went and took his young wives. But, lo, Pivi stood at the door of the hut, and, having called his friends, he and they cut Kabo to pieces. For Pivi had worked away with his spear till the fish was forced to open his shell and so let him escape. Has this tale drifted to New Caledonia, or has it been invented separately there? If the former, it has become a true native story with the "Swallow" incident tacked on. *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie*, ser. iii., vol. ix. 361. Cited in Lang's *Brown Fairy Book*, p. 188. In European fairy stories we frequently find a hunchback losing his hump while the fairies transfer it to some man who has displeased them or envied the other's good luck. In the Kafir story on p. 257, the girl whom the snake marries followed the advice of various animals. Her sister rejected it, and was killed by the snake.

man's advice. As a result she became ugly and old.[1] This story, from a land where trees and animals are still worshipped and believed to give benefits to the worshipper, requires no comment.

Not less animistic are a number of stories (some of them already noted) in which various unconsidered trifles, most frequently saliva, personate the hero or heroine, and so prevent their captors, an ogre or a witch, from observing their flight. Usually the incident occurs in tales where the hero, in the power of an ogre, falls in love with his daughter, who assists him to escape with her. The daughter in the Celtic story of The Battle of the Birds says to her lover, "Stop a while, and I will play a trick on the old hero." She cut an apple into nine pieces, put two at the head of the bed, two at the foot, two at the kitchen door, two at the big door, and one outside the house. Then the lovers fled. The giant awoke and called, "Are you asleep?" "We are not yet," said the piece at the head of the bed. To his successive questions the other pieces answered in turn; the giant was completely deceived; and the fugitives got a good start before he discovered the fraud and set off in pursuit.[2] More usually, as witness the Polish tale of "Prince Unexpected," it is the heroine's saliva which answers the questions, bursting into laughter when the fraud is discovered. Of this there are Swedish, Basque, Celtic, Magyar, Russian, and German variants, to mention only a few.[3] Other articles are made to serve the same purpose, as in the Sicilian tale of Snow-White Rose-Red, where, before escaping, the

[1] Day, p. 280.

[2] Campbell, i. 25, with several variants. *Cf.* the Basque and Russian tales cited in chap. vi., pp. 171, 176.

[3] *F.L.J.*, ii. 14. Thorpe, *Y.T.S.*, p. 223. Webster, p. 125. Campbell, i. 56 (Auburn Mary). Jones, p. xxxiii. Ralston, p. 143. Grimm, i. 225. *Y.T.S.*, p. 441. For other mystic qualities of saliva, see American Folk-lore Society's *Journal*, iii. 52; *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scotland*, iv. 212. Hair speaks in the same way in a Kafir story cited on p. 172 *supra*.

prince bade the tables, chairs, and drawers answer the ogress's questions in his own voice;[1] while in a Swedish tale Singorra leaves three dolls, one on the bed, one on the floor, and one on the threshold, cutting her finger and dropping some of her blood on each. The first cries to the mermaid, "I am awake"; the second, "I am kindling the fire"; the third, "The fire burns"; and so delay the pursuit.[2] The Malagasy have a similar story. The hero, at its desire, has uprooted a shrub, and taken it with him. He comes to a village of magicians, where the shrub warns him not to eat their food. Next night he lodges with a brigand, who intends to kill him when he is asleep. The shrub personates the hero behind the door and answers in his voice. Meanwhile he and the brigand's wife have fled; the brigand pursues, but, by the shrub's advice, is put to death.[3]

Sometimes an inanimate object helps its owner. Thus a native story from Uganda relates that Kintu, the first man, received a copper axe from Mugulu (Heaven), and was told to split the rocks with it. He was in despair, when the axe said, "It is easy enough for me, just strike and see!" Next day he had to fetch a bucketful of dew. "This does not seem easy," cried Kintu. "Easy enough for me," said the bucket, and when he looked he found it full of dew.[4] In a Magyar story the hero is told by a witch to place a loaf outside the fortress door, there to await the coming of a dragon. The dragon arrives, and the loaf cries, "I'm on guard here. If you

[1] Pitré, p. 13. [2] Thorpe, *op. cit.*, p. 213; *cf.* 225.

[3] Ferrand, p. 93. Conversely, when Polynesians go on a thieving expedition the god Rongo is entreated to make not only those in the house sleep, but also the threshold, insects, and ants, the central posts, rafters, beams, and thatch. Gill, p. 150; Shortland, p. 66.

[4] Johnston, ii. 702. Later a hornet helps the hero to pick his stolen cow out of a herd by alighting on its shoulder.

wish to get in you must suffer what I've suffered"; and the loaf goes on to tell how it had been exposed as a plant to sun, and rain, and snow, been cut down, threshed, ground, kneaded, and placed seven times in a fiery furnace. The dragon, knowing he could not stand all this, got so angry that he burst and perished. This incident occurs in several versions of the Puss in Boots story. The cat turns itself into a loaf, and holds the troll or giant in conversation till sunrise, when he bursts, and his castle then becomes the property of the hero or heroine.[1] Several stories of the Cannibalistic Cyclops group tell how the blinded ogre threw down a ring which the hero picked up and put on his finger. He had no sooner done so than it began to cry out, guiding the monster to his victim, who only escaped by cutting off his finger and throwing it with the ring into the sea. There it still talked, and the ogre, following it, was drowned. This is the Basque version, but there are Celtic, German, and Russian variants; in the last the hero catches hold of a gold axe which guides the one-eyed hag to him, because he cannot let it go. In a Basuto tale, whenever a girl tries to escape from the chief who has captured her his magic horns inform him of the fact, till, advised by her friends, she pours water and food into them, and piles stones on them.[2]

As a last example may be cited those tales in which the captured hero or heroine is given a human limb to eat by the ogre, robber chief, or witch. When the captor asks if the limb is eaten, it answers from

[1] Jones, p. 79. Thorpe, *Y.T.S.*, pp. 64, 70. Dasent, p. 369. Grimm, ii. 182. Straparola, xi. 1. Basile, ii. 4. In popular belief, sunrise or cockcrow ends the power of vampire, fairy, ghost, and witch. It is curious to observe that West African witch-women and sorcerers must return from their secret meetings by cockcrow also, else they will find themselves in peril. See Nassau, pp. 123, 327.

[2] Webster, p. 4. Grimm, "The Robber and his Sons." Campbell, i. 112. *Cf.* "Cannibalism," *infra*, p. 280. Jacottet, p. 249.

the place where the prisoner has hid it. But sometimes the heroine, youngest of three sisters, as in an Italian version, by advice of her mother's ghost, binds it about her body, and it answers, "In Maruzza's body," and the robber thinks she has eaten it.[1]

The inanimate objects which speak and act are relics of the time, not so very far away, when all things were believed to have such powers. "The Samoans have their stories of a golden age of intelligence long, long ago, when all things material had the power of speech."[2] This statement might be paralleled from the lore of any savage race, but as a rule that age of intelligence is as much in the present as in the past. Thus the Aino attributes life and personality to everything; while certain things (fetiches) not only have life, but can protect, help, and heal.[3] This is also the belief of Red Indians, Bushmen, Melanesians, or any such savage people, while it lingers on as a half-belief among the peasantry of Europe. We see it again in, *e.g.*, the eggs used as omens by the Khasi Hill tribes, which are addressed as living, and are capable of mediating between spirits and men; or in the waterfalls, streams, and material objects of all sorts which the Indians of Guiana, like the Tahitians, Tongans, Negroes, or Asiatic Finns, believe to be alive. But these topics are now the commonplaces of anthropological study, and need not be multiplied here. Their wide distribution and recent survival sufficiently account for the talking and acting objects which occur in hundreds of folk-tales from every part of the world.[4]

(2) The magical objects in the succeeding groups of stories suggest fetichism rather than animism as

[1] Crane, p. 82. *Cf.* Tabu, p. 307. Ralston, p. 178.
[2] Turner, *Samoa*, p. 212. *Cf.* pp. 247-48.
[3] Batchelor, ed. 2, p. 456.
[4] *J.A.I.*, i. 134. Im Thurn, *Indians of Guiana*, p. 350.

the point of departure. The first group stands midway between, and contains stories of puppets which act in all respects as if alive. In the Swedish tale of Singorra we have already seen how the dolls answer for the heroine; there, however, it is permissible to suppose that her blood, like the saliva of other tales, supplied the answering voice. But the doll of the Russian story of Vasilissa the Fair is a doll and nothing more, though a surprisingly lively one. It was given to Vasilissa by her dying mother; it gave her advice, worked for her, kept her pretty when her stepmother starved her, and when she was sent to the Baba Yaga's house, prevented her making any false step and performed the difficult tasks set her. Thus it bears a strong semblance to the shrub of the Malagasy story, while it also resembles the dolls belonging to a demi-goddess in the *Katha Sarit Sagara*, one of which would fetch flowers, another water, while a third danced, and a fourth conversed with her. Again, in Japan there is a belief that dolls sometimes come alive. They are served with food and carefully treated, lest misfortune should befall the house through neglecting them. A doll acquires a soul through being played with by generations of children. One such doll was borrowed by childless persons, who fed and clothed it, with happy results to themselves.[1]

The personation of the hero or heroine by a puppet occurs frequently, especially in Italian stories, where an absent mistress leaves one to take her place or bear the brunt of her husband's anger, as mediæval witches were believed to do when absent from their husband's side at the sabbat.[2] In one story, however,

[1] Ralston, p. 150. In some of the stories in which a king wishes to marry his daughter, a puppet causes the earth to open so that she escapes him. Clouston, *P.T. & F.*, i. 380. Hearn, *Unfamiliar Japan*, i. 267.

[2] For the witch belief, see Reuss, *La Sorcière*, p. 39.

a prince falls in love with a doll which a merchant brought to his wife, and by the help of a fairy it becomes human, as Pygmalion's statue did at the command of Aphrodite. So in an Esthonian story a girl abused by her stepmother is adopted by a strange race living in a forest. An image of clay is made, and a snake as well as bread and herrings put in it, and it is sprinkled with a drop of her blood, when it comes to life, and is sent to personate the girl at her home. One day the stepmother was about to strangle the supposed child, when the serpent bit her; the image then disappeared, but the father found the bread and herrings on the table. He ate them, and died.[1]

From another point of view, these objects have a connection with sympathetic magic. An ancient Egyptian folk-tale relates that a magician made workmen and tools out of wax, recited a charm over them, and gave them life. This was an actual Egyptian belief, for the little images buried with the dead were believed to come to life in the other world and act as their servants. Sometimes, as in Japanese and Roman sacrifices; they replaced the human victims of earlier times, but were believed to be equally efficacious. The mere likeness to a human being gave them the value of the living personality.[2]

Objects such as these recall the powers of the Red Indian *manitou* and savage personal fetiches, as we shall presently see. Meanwhile it should be noted that similar qualities are ascribed to statues or images of gods and saints in ancient Greece and Rome, in Scandinavia, Lapland, China, Japan, Siam, India, Madagascar, Mexico, Peru, and elsewhere, as well as to the relics of Mohammedan saints among the Arabs. They speak, give advice, weep on approach of calamity, make signs, leave their shrine to heal the

[1] Crane, p. 114. Kirby, i. 246.

[2] Maspero, p. 59, Story of Satui. Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, i. 7. Chamberlain, *Ko-ji-ki*, p. 200.

sick, or to fight for their worshippers. The records of every known religion supply abundant evidence of this, while such ideas are reproduced copiously in mediæval hagiology with respect to the images of saints. All serve to illustrate the dominant power of an early idea—that of life in an inanimate object, over minds which had long passed beyond the stage at which such an idea could have been created, and show that this idea had its religious as well as its folk-lore presentation.[1]

In animism all objects are conceived to possess a spirit, just as man himself does. In fetichism proper, which is derived from animism, any spirit is believed to be capable of taking up its residence in any object, frequently one prepared for the purpose. Hence the images of the gods are superior fetiches, since the divinities are believed to reside in them; nor is it extraordinary that these images are believed to act as living things, since the savage always credits his fetich with such power. It is possible that the guardian puppet of our tales may have been derived from some such personal fetich as the Red Indian *manitou*—the skin, claws, or teeth of some animal which each man carries, and which is believed to be the receptacle of his guardian animal spirit. So the West African negro makes a bizarre object which becomes the home of his guardian spirit or *suhman*.[2]

[1] Classical students will recall many instances in Herodotus, Pausanias, Pliny, Livy, and Cicero. Tylor (ii. 221, 253) cites some cases, and Bérenger-Féraud (ii. 10, 12) is still more copious. For the *Arabs*, see Trumelet, *Les Français dans la Desert*, pp. 45, 177, 246; *Buddhists*, Landes, Nos. 11, 60; *India*, *Rev. des T.P.*, ii. 18; *Peru*, Herrera, *Hist. des Indies*, *passim*; for mediæval times the Acta and Martyrologies are full of cases; Gregory of Tours, *de Mirac.*, gives several; and among modern writers see J. B. Dulaure, *Poitou*, iv. 111, 127; J. B. Labat, *Voyages en Espagne*, i. 211; *Voyages en Italie*, v. 365; Sébillot, *Trad. Pop.*, i. 369.

[2] See the chapter on Fetichism in my *Religion, its Origin and Forms*; and Nassau, chap. vi.

Fetiches such as these are found among primitive people everywhere, and everywhere their powers are the same—guarding their owners, advising them, aiding them in their designs, good or wicked. Wherever such a belief prevails, it would easily become the topic of folk-tales, and this suggests that our stories, if not themselves dating from a time when such personal fetiches were believed in, are the lineal descendants of early tales. Yet personal fetiches were firmly believed in down to comparatively late times in Europe. In mediæval German households the *Galgen-männlein*, or mandrake, handed down from father to son, contained a familiar spirit, which gave oracles and brought good luck to the owner, if he dressed it, bathed it, and otherwise took good care of it. In other cases a puppet made of white wax in the devil's name, and clad in a petticoat and vest, was believed to give aid to its owner. Precisely the same thing is done by the Bondei wizards in Africa. They "charm" sticks of Indian corn, and dress them like dolls. The dolls thus become people, and are able to go wherever sent. When they arrive at the desired spot, they suck the blood of the victim, who turns sick and dies. This is great witchcraft, and much feared by all respectable Bondeis.[1] Again, in Scandinavian, Esthonian, Celtic, and Eskimo folk-lore the witch or wizard is believed to make an object of various materials. When certain spells are said over it, it comes to life, and can then be sent to execute errands or, usually, to work harm and death.[2]

[1] Elton, *Origins of English History*, p. 219; Grimm, *D.M.*, p. 513; Thorpe, *N.M.*, iii. 19. *Cf.* Lang, *Custom and Myth*, p. 145 *seq.*; *J.A.I.*, xxv. 223, Rev. G. Dale, *Customs of Natives of Bondei Country*.

[2] Powell and Magnusson, lxxvii. Here the "sending" is a ghost. Kirby, i. 257, ii. 168 (*cf.* an Esthonian instance in chap. vi., p. 154). O'Curry, *Manners of Ancient Irish* (Druidic), ii. 203. Nansen, *Eskimo Life*, p. 285. Zulu sorcerers bewitch various animals and then send them to injure their victims—Callaway, p. 348. Danish witches were believed to make a hare out of an old stocking and send

Actual beliefs like these show that the talking and acting puppets and other objects of folk-story are not the mere products of the imagination, but the reflections of the ideas which governed the minds of the people with whom those tales arose.

Another form of fetichism, degraded as compared with the other, is that in which an immaterial object is believed to have certain powers in itself, quite apart from any possessing or controlling spirit. The universal belief in amulets, charms, etc., shows how readily this form of fetichism has found acceptance. But it is derived from the earlier form of fetichism, where the object is controlled by a spirit, probably through an intermediate form, in which the spirit does not dwell in the fetich but may be summoned by its means. This branch of fetichism is abundantly illustrated from the folk-tales of the *Arabian Nights*, where the talisman, when rubbed or spoken to, produces the genie or spirit, who is bound to work its owner's will; while Indian writers have much to say of a talisman like the Tschin-tâmani, a jewel with the power of producing whatever its owner sets his heart on. A large group of stories, Asiatic and European, belonging to the Aladdin cycle, illustrate both the intermediate and the later form of fetichism.[1] The hero obtains a magic jewel, box, ring, etc., sometimes from a grateful animal, sometimes (as in the Aladdin story) by purchase, or by finding it accidentally. In some versions of the story (Arabic) a genie appears when the charm is appealed to, or, as in a Greek variant, a black man, who does whatever the owner wishes. He corresponds to the spirit

it to steal milk from cattle. Thorpe, *N.M.*, ii. 192. The Lapland wizards sent magic flies and darts against their enemies, as well as a kind of ball. The last was fatal, not only to the victim, but to anyone who came in its way. Calmet, *Les Apparitions des Esprits*, i. 107 (1751).

[1] These are discussed in the chapter on Friendly Animals, pp. 237-38.

controlling the fetich *à distance*. But frequently it is enough to appeal to the charm itself, and the wish is at once accomplished. Thus in a Basque variant a lad finds a snuff-box, which says to him, "What do you wish for?" He puts it to the test, and finds that it can supply his wants, and ultimately obtains a fine castle and marries a king's daughter. The snuff-box falls into the hands of his bride's mother, who by its aid transports castle and all to the Red Sea.[1] Such a charm occurs in Aino and Korean versions of the story. They are the gift of a divine being to the owner, and in the Korean tale the charm produces an inexhaustible supply of wine.[2] These versions of the story represent the last form of fetichism, where the amulet, talisman, or charm works of itself alone, and no controlling spirit is in question. The least superstitious among us are still subject to this form of fetichism, and carry a lucky stone or coin, or believe that a mascot brings them luck.

The magic swords of *Märchen* and saga are fetiches of this class, but at one time were thought of as controlled by a spirit. The Magyar tale of Prince Mirko tells how he arrived at Knight Mezey's tent and found him asleep, but his sword was slashing in all directions. Mirko lay down near him and said, "Sword, come out of thy scabbard!" when his own sword leaped forth and acted in the same way. Next morning the heroes joined forces, and their swords of themselves killed innumerable enemies.[3] Some stories of the Perseus group relate how a weapon sprang up where the fish's bones were planted in the garden at the same time as the hero was born, and with this magic weapon he overcame the dragon.[4] An old soldier, in a Breton tale, found a sabre on which were the words, "He who uses me is always victorious"; while in an Indian story Siva presented his protégé,

[1] Webster, p. 94.
[2] Chamberlain, p. 16. Allen, p. 40.
[3] Jones, p. 66.
[4] See p. 383, and Jones, p. 243.

Siva Das, with a sword which gave him victory, protected him against all dangers, and carried him wherever he wished to go.[1] The hero of the Esthonian epic, the *Kalevipoeg*, had his magic sword stolen by a sorcerer, who could scarce drag it off.[2] It fell into a brook, whither the hero traced it and asked it how it came there. It answered that it was in the embrace of a fair water-nymph. He reproached it, but it replied that on account of a terrible murder it could not return to him. Then he commanded it to speak to the heroes of his race who came thither, to rise and go to a hero as great as himself, and to cut off the feet of the thief. Such a sword is mentioned in the *Kalevala* as belonging to Kullervo. When asked by him if it delighted in human blood, it replied, "How should I not taste with pleasure the flesh of the guilty man, and drink the blood of him that is infamous, when I taste the flesh and drink the blood of the innocent?"[3] Certain Japanese swords, unlike this conscientious weapon, hunger after men's lives and madden their owners so that they kill others or commit suicide.[4] Ideas such as these are found in savage Africa. The Aniya say that the son of the first man was attacked by people from the mountains, when he made fetich on his war-spear and sang, "My spear, go kill these people," whereupon it went forth and slew the whole of the enemy.[5] The magic swords of the heroes of classical and later mythology and saga—the weapons of Perseus, Achilles, and Ulysses, of Fionn, Heimdal, Charlemagne, Roland, and Arthur, of the heroes of mediæval romances and

[1] Sébillot, i. 64. Cosquin, i. 219.

[2] *Cf.* Odin's Gram, driven into an ash till a man should come strong enough to pull it out. In many stories the modest hero, after killing dragons, giants, etc., leaves his sword stuck in the ground and then goes away. The king bids all men come and try to pull it out. The hero tries and succeeds, and by this means is discovered.

[3] Kirby, i. 75. *Kalevala*, rime 36.

[4] Mitford, i. 113. [5] Reade, p. 63.

Eastern story, perform the same feats, and are looked upon as endowed with life and thought, even called by name, like Joyeuse and Excalibur, or like Siegfried's Balmung, with which he slew the giants, and which continued to slay after its owner was dead.[1] Conceptions like these date from a time when weapons were believed to be controlled by a spirit, as is stated in an Irish legend. Ogma obtained Ornai, the sword of Tethra, the king of the Fomoré, which recounted to him the deeds it had performed, as was the custom of swords at that time. For, says the chronicler, demons spoke from the swords, because the people worshipped arms in those days.[2] Arms, in effect, were powerful fetiches, and the worship was paid to the indwelling spirit. The Scythians are known to have offered worship to the sword, either for itself, or as a symbol of divinity, while the sword of Isonokami is mentioned as a worshipful object in the Japanese *Ko-ji-ki*. We can quite well imagine that people accustomed to weapons of stone, would readily suppose that there was something magical in weapons of bronze or iron, when those were first seen, or so long as they were scarce. But with savages, weapons and other articles, whether of metal or stone, are credited with life. The Algonquin thinks that hatchets have "shadows," which accompany the human shadow to the spirit land, and in Fiji it is thought that the soul of the broken or worn-out axe or chisel goes to Bolotoo or Hades,[3] while the broken weapons found in prehistoric graves suggest that they were broken in order that their "spirits" might

[1] See Lady Verney, "Mythical and Mediæval Swords," *Cont. Rev*, 1880. Burton, *Book of the Sword*. Clouston, *P.T. and F.*, i. 43. Campbell, i. lxv. *seq*. *Cf. infra*, p. 216, for magic swords which go forth to kill.

[2] O'Curry, *Manners of Ancient Irish*, ii. 254.

[3] Clodd, *Myths and Dreams*, p. 211. For iron weapons, see p. 339 *infra*.

be free to accompany their owner's spirit to the other world.

As a last example of fetichism we shall glance at the magic wand which figures in so many folk-tales. Sometimes, as in a Russian story, when passed from one hand to another it produces a servant who does the owner's bidding.[1] More usually it works automatically, and is the property of some supernaturally gifted personage. Thus in many stories where the hero is set impossible tasks by an ogre, his daughter performs them for him by a touch of her wand, as in the Lorraine story of the Green Bird, where the ravelled skeins of thread and a heap of feathers are sorted out by a tap of the magic rod.[2] A Greek story relates how a youth had obtained from his grandmother a switch which had the power of making anything which it touches speak. A certain dumb princess is to be the reward of the suitor who will make her speak. Many have tried and failed, and have been put to death. Our hero came, leaned the switch against the girl, and at once she began to chatter.[3] Sometimes a mere tap on the ground with such a wand produces splendid results. Thus the heroine of a Basque story did so, and said, "I will that on this spot is built a beautiful hotel," and at once it appeared before her. Such wands are common in Eastern tales. Taj-ul-Mulúk possessed a rod cut from a magic tree whose wood broke the strongest bodies, and with its aid he shattered the fetters of a beautiful fairy. Other rods, of silver and gold, have the power of life and death and, in Indian tales, are found lying by the side of maidens captured by rakshasas. The hero finds the maiden dead, but taking the golden rod lets it fall accidentally upon her, when she is restored to life, or, in other cases, her head is restored to her body. The silver rod is used by her captor to kill her when he

[1] Dietrich, No. 5. [2] Cosquin, i. 104. [3] Garnett, ii. 138.

goes away, the golden rod to restore her on his return.[1] When petrifaction occurs in folk-tales (*e.g.*, in the sequel to the Perseus cycle, in stories of the quest for magic birds, water, etc.), it is usually done by the witch striking the hero with her magic wand.[2] But a kindlier witch, in the Scots story of the Red Etin, gives the hero a magic wand to quell the dreadful beasts which he will encounter.[3]

Such sticks or wands are actually believed in and used by primitive peoples. The natives of British Guiana know of a mysterious plant, a stick of which pointed at any living creature proves fatal to it. Pointing-sticks are thus used by the Australian black fellows, and as they form the most remarkable instance of actual magic wands known to me, I shall describe their use. The form of the wand varies, but the commonest kind is made of stick or bone, sharpened at one end, and covered with bird's down, or otherwise ornamented. The owner takes his wand into the bush, and placing it in the ground, mutters horrible curses over it against his enemy. "May your heart be rent asunder. May your backbone be split open and your ribs torn asunder. May your head and throat be split open." Then he takes the stick and jerks it over his shoulder several times in the direction of his victim, repeating the same curses. By this means the evil magic in the wand goes into him, and soon after he sickens and dies. With some of the tribes a form of wand still more potent is made out of a dead man's bone. All the natives fear these pointing-sticks, whose magic powers are the result of a charm sung over them, the words of which are in an archaic language unknown to those who use it.[4] Generally speaking, the shaman or medicine-man,

[1] Webster, p. 127. Clouston, *E.R.*, pp. 298, 305. Day, pp. 224, 251.

[2] See pp. 156-57. [3] Chambers, p. 89.

[4] Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes*, p. 456 *seq.*

wherever found, makes use of some rod, staff, or weapon, in performing his ceremonies. Even now in Thessalia the peasants say that the wizard can destroy buildings with his rod, or make the stars come down from heaven. Taoist priests in China each possess a magic sword, which takes the place of the wizard's rod elsewhere, and of which extraordinary tales are told.[1] So Finnish sorcerers make use of metal rods and weapons, and Red Indian medicine-men and Eskimo shamans have sticks which kill animals or men when pointed at them, or are believed to turn into canoes and other things when commanded; while, in Guiana, a calabash adorned with feathers and containing several pebbles serves to scare off or attract spirits as required.[2] These magical properties of actual sorcerers are regarded with awe by the people, and in them may be seen the origin of the magic wands of our tales, owned by witches or persons with supernatural parentage, or gifted to heroes. As to striking the ground with the wand and producing marvellous results, it should be noted that this is a frequent mode of appealing to the spirits below the earth, who are then supposed to do what the striker wishes. This is done in New Guinea to recall the spirit of life to the sick; in Zululand by those who inquire of diviners.[3]

While explaining our folk-tale incidents by the actual fetichistic beliefs of savage and primitive folk, based upon what would commonly be called a superstitious outlook upon the world, and a complete

[1] Garnett, ii., i. Giles, i. 128.

[2] Abercromby, *Pre- and Proto-Historic Finns*, i. 345, 353. Leland, *A.L.*, pp. 127, 190. Brett, p. 23. Such magical rods were said to be given by Satan to mediæval witches for the purpose of injuring cattle. Reuss, *La Sorcière*, pp. 59, 73.

[3] Romilly, p. 91. Callaway, p. 280 *seq.* History repeats itself, and we hear of a Moidart Macdonald, pressed by a hard-hearted factor for his rent, appealing to his dead chief by striking the earth and calling aloud to him.

ignorance of cause and effect, the possibility of the reality of some fetichistic phenomena should not be overlooked. The abundant evidence collected in, *e.g.*, the volumes of the Psychical Research Society's *Proceedings*, in Sir Wm. Crooke's writings, and in Myers's *Human Personality*, show that there are many phenomena, chiefly connected with the movement of material objects without contact, yet unexplained, and, therefore, still classed under the X region of facts. No one, again, except those who are unaware of the mass of evidence, now doubts the reality of hypnotism, telepathy, clairvoyance, crystal-gazing, trance-utterance, etc., in modern times. We find, however, that these and kindred phenomena are known to and used by savages, and especially by medicine-men, just as they were by mediæval witches.[1] They are, in fact, common occurrences among them. Is this because savages are, in certain respects, more sensitive than we? At all events, it suggests that those phenomena of the X region, especially action on matter *à distance*, or telikinesis, may also be well known to them. Indeed, the more the X region is studied, and the more savage belief is laid bare, the better do we see that the latter is not based so entirely on superstition as is commonly supposed. Thus one branch of fetichism, the use of amulets to cure disease, has been found by experiment to be efficacious in nervous diseases by virtue of the continual contact acting as a reminder to the subliminal self, which was thus able, in some unexplained way, to keep the

[1] I append a few references to savage use of these phenomena: hypnotism, Callaway, p. 431; telepathy, *ibid.*, *J.A.I.*, i. 163; clairvoyance, Rink, p. 111; crystal-gazing, Reade, p. 542, Ling Roth, i. 274; trance-utterance, Myers, *H.P.*, ii. 200. In one of Dr Nassau's "Tales of Fetich based on Fact" we hear of two men who could communicate with one another *à distance*, and summon each other when required — Nassau, p. 318. For mediæval witches, *cf.* Gurney, *Phantasms of Living*, "Note on Witchcraft"; Reuss, *La Sorcière*, *passim*, etc., etc.

nervous disturbance in check.[1] Granting, then, that material objects can be moved without contact in presence of the medium, savage or civilised, it will readily be seen how such phenomena would be exploited by the medicine-man, as it is by modern mediums, and simulated by sleight-of-hand or by fraud. These phenomena, real or fraudulent, would, however, act as buttresses to the already existing belief in fetichism. A few examples of savage incursions into the X region may now be given. Callaway gives an account of the procedure at divination in Natal. The diviner has certain sticks lying on the ground. These sticks begin to leap about and to fix themselves upon the anxious inquirer on that part of the body which is diseased in the patient for whose benefit the inquiry is made. Certain bones are each called the man-bone, cow-bone, etc., and if inquiry is made about a man the man-bone begins to jump about, if a cow, the cow-bone. Dr Callaway suggests sleight-of-hand as an explanation, though it is far from obvious. The sticks also point in the direction of a doctor, who can heal the patient. Reade speaks of the fetich-men in Matiamoo (Central Africa) making wooden puppets which can spring several yards. Similar facts are also reported from New Zealand as to divining rods. All alike suggest, if not actual telikinesis, at least a certain acquaintance with it among savages. Further inquiry in this direction might produce interesting results. Many cases, however, may be due to mere clever conjuring: shamans among the Menomini Indians will sit in front of little wooden figures which dance to their chanting; the operator is believed to have power to make them dance, the motion being caused by his *manido*. In reality the figures are moved by means

[1] *Journal, S.P.R.*, vi. 152; Myers, *Human Personality*, ii. 559.

of threads attached to the juggler's toes.[1] But whether genuine or feigned, the movements of material objects were bound to enhance the belief in fetichism, in a spirit controlling and dwelling in such objects. Other instances of movement are of a different character. We are told of Negro, Melanesian, and Siberian sorcerers that certain rods placed in their own hands, or in those of others, move as if living, and draw them in the direction of a suspected thief, or toward the region inhabited by spirits; or the rod itself will twist violently hither and thither when the name of some particular departed friend is named along with many others.[2] These are but the phenomena of the divining rod of ancient, mediæval, and modern times, and now proved by Prof. Barrett's experiments to be beyond the reach of cavil.[3] In all we may see an example of hyperæsthesia, of the subliminal self acting on knowledge known to it alone, or in accordance with its deep-seated beliefs and fancies, and controlling the subject's movements unconsciously to himself.

(3) Some of these illustrations of the fetich belief approach very near the principle of sympathetic magic, and, indeed, it is difficult to draw the line between these two branches of primitive belief. But in some tales there are clear instances of the magical

[1] Callaway, *J.A.I.*, i. 178; *R.S.A.*, p. 330. Reade, p. 333. Tylor, *P.C.*, i. 125. Bureau of Ethnology, *Fourteenth Annual Report*, p. 98.

[2] Deniker, *Races of Man*, p. 217. Codrington, p. 210.

[3] Barrett, *On the So-called Divining Rod. Cf.* Chevreuil, *La Baguette Divinatoire;* Lang's chapter in *Custom and Myth;* and Baring-Gould's essay in *Curious Myths.* Mr Lang has discussed fetichism and its relation to such phenomena in his *Making of Religion*, p. 159 *seq.* M. Lefébure, "Les Origines des Fétichisme," *Mélusine*, vol. viii., thinks fetichism may have arisen through actual telikinetic force in things, which he calls "le magnetisme," and cites various instances. For ordinary divination with sticks where no occult phenomena are involved, see Napier, *Superstitions of West of Scotland*, p. 108.

theory of things. Animals frequently present the hero with one of their hairs, feathers, or scales, with instructions to touch or burn it when in need, and they will at once appear. These stories are sometimes found in the Treacherous Brothers or in the Separable Soul cycle, discussed elsewhere in this work.[1] The episode in a Greek variant runs thus. When the hero has been abandoned on the mountain, three horses, white, red, and green, appear, and carry him to the plain, where each gives him a hair. In the sequel, by burning these, the horses at once appear and bring him the treasures desired by the three princesses whom he had rescued from the mountain.[2] In other cases we have a variation of this idea; by making use of the hairs, scales, etc., the hero is enabled to assume the form of the respective animals at the psychological moment.[3] Kashmir and Berber stories illustrate the more primitive form of the episode. In the former a tigress, relieved of an abscess by the hero, gives him a tuft of her fur, which he has to show to the sun (equivalent of burning) when he wishes her help. The Berber tale runs thus. Hamed ben Ceggad was sent by a king to bring the woman with silver attire. Before she goes with him, her brothers, three ogres, give her a feather which, when anyone wishes her to do anything against her will, she must cast into the fire and they will appear. When the king wished to marry her, she acted on their advice; they came, killed the king, and gave her to Hamed. Obviously, in the earliest form of this story the ogres gave their sister one of their own hairs. Another Berber story tells how half a cock

[1] See pp. 135, 351.

[2] Hahn, No. 26. In a variant a drako gives the hero three horse hairs, which, when struck lightly, produce him and his two brothers—Garnett, ii. 77. For a Servian variant, see Vouk, No. 2; Mijatovich, p. 53. Here a fish, fox, and wolf give the hero a scale and one of their hairs. Rubbing them gently in time of need will bring them to his aid.

[3] See p. 239.

went on pilgrimage and met a jackal, lion, and boar, each of which gave it a hair. Three times the bird is imprisoned, and each time it burns a hair, when its owner appears and sets it free. There are Albanian, French, and Slavonic versions of this story, but only in the two latter does the hair-burning occur.[1]

The same incident occurs in Eastern tales. A female *div* gave two of her hairs to Táj-ul-Mulúk. "When you need me, put this hair in the fire, and I will hasten to you with a thousand divs." Once, in a jungle full of wild beasts the hero placed a hair on the camp-fire. A quarter of it was not consumed before the fairy with her escort appeared, and raised a splendid palace on this very spot for Táj. The second hair was made use of later on, with like results.[2] A different but analogous episode occurs in a Chinese tale. A girl called Yi gives her lover a slipper, saying that she had worn it, and that whenever he shook it she would know that he wanted to see her, and would immediately appear.[3] In the *Pancha-tantra* and also in the *Arabian Nights* a grateful serpent gave the hero three of its scales which, when burned, would bring the serpent to his aid.[4]

All these are excellent illustrations of the primitive theory of sympathetic magic found among all savage races, and also as a frequent survival among the peasantry of civilised countries. This theory, based on a mistaken application of the law of cause and effect, insisted that if two things had ever been in contact, the one would be able to influence the other even when removed to a distance. The one was in sympathy with the other, because of that contact, or often because the smaller of the two had once been part of the larger whole. The extent to which this

[1] Knowles, p. 3. Basset, pp. 56, 83. Carnoy, *Litt. orale de la Picardie*, 214. Krauss, *Sagen der Sud Slaven*, i. 95.

[2] Clouston, p. 268 *seq.* [3] Giles, i. 170.

[4] Benfey, i. 203. *Arabian Nights*, Story of Zobeide.

conception dominates savage and primitive thought everywhere, besides occurring in curious ways at higher levels, will only be credited by those who have studied the enormous mass of evidence.[1] Our purpose will here be satisfied by referring to that branch of the theory which illustrates the stories in question. Thus, as we have already said, all savages believe that their nail-clippings, hair-cuttings, and such like must be carefully hidden or destroyed, for if an enemy got hold of these or of any part of one's raiment or ornaments, he would be able to work harm to the original owner. By their means the owner would be in his power and at his mercy; whatever he did to the part would be done to the whole. If the clippings were buried in the ground so that they might gradually rot away, the owner would die of a wasting disease. The part, if not greater than, is at least equal to the whole. Our stories are the literary presentation of this popular and universal theory. The grateful animals, the friendly div, the Chinese lover, all tacitly put themselves in the hero's power when they give him one of their hairs, etc. They are not hurt by the hair being burnt, but they are bound to appear. According to the theory, the part is in all respects like the whole, and will be possessed by all its capacities and powers. We have already seen this in the case of the saliva which talks; it talks, and talks well, because it is part of a human being. So in a Kafir tale, Sikulume neglects the warning which a mouse gives him. The mouse then tells him to kill it and keep its skin, which continues to speak and advise him just as its original owner had done.[2] A Hessian story also illustrates this. A princess goes with her maid to the court of the king she is to marry. Before leaving, her mother gives her, in a vessel, three drops of her blood which speak and are meant to take

[1] A large number of instances are given in Frazer, *Golden Bough*, vol. i.

[2] Theal, p. 81.

care of her. But she loses the vessel, and then the servant personates her.[1] We have seen already how drops of blood placed on a puppet make it speak in the voice of the owner. The rings, jewels, charms, which produce at will a being who obeys orders, have been shown to be forms of fetichism. But they might also be classed under the heading of sympathetic magic: the ring produces the being because it had once been in contact with him. This is certainly the case in a Kashmir tale, where a genie gives a ring from his finger to the hero, and bids him show it to the fire, when he will at once appear.[2]

(4) In other groups of tales the magical objects have been suggested by various primitive beliefs, but some at least owe their origin to mimetic magic. Few stories are so widespread as that of the poor man, usually with a large family, who obtains certain magical objects from a gifted human being, a supernatural personage, even *le bon dieu* himself; from his master, from the Wind or Frost personified, after they have damaged his crops; or from an animal. In the English version the first gift is an ass which drops silver or gold; it is stolen by an innkeeper, who replaces it by an ordinary ass. Next Jack obtains a table which automatically provides a rich meal when desired. This also is stolen. Lastly, he gets a cudgel which beats of its own accord. The innkeeper falls a victim to it, and the cudgel does not leave off until he has restored the stolen articles. There are Italian, Russian, and Deccan variants of this form of the story.[3] In many others a table-cloth

[1] Grimm, No. 89. For placing charms in the fire, see *F.L.J.*, ii. 104.

[2] Knowles, p. 473. *Cf.* a German story, where the hero takes a ring from a dwarf's finger and finds that by his turning it, several spirits appear to do his bidding—Grimm, No. 166.

[3] Henderson, p. 327. Crane, p. 123. Gubernatis, *Z.M.*, ii. 262. Miss Frere, No 12.

or a napkin takes the place of the table, and produces a banquet in the same way (Norse, Lorraine);[1] while the animal which gives gold is sometimes a ram (Norse, Czech), a sheep (Magyar, Poland, Lithuania), a horse (Venice), a mule (Breton), a he-goat (Lithuania, Norway), a she-goat (Austria), a cock (Oldenburg), a hen (Tyrol, Ireland).[2] In other versions we have two magic boxes, bottles, sacks, or pots, one of which produces gold or food, the second armed men, who beat the thief till he restores the first gift. This occurs in Italian, Irish, Esthonian, and Bengali tales.[3] Austrian and Russian tales bring the men out of a magic hat or magic cask.[4] Here is a Syriac version. A fox received a viand-producing dish and an ass which made gold. Breaking the command by showing them to his wife, he has his gifts taken by the king of the foxes. Next he gets a sack from which leap two giants, who kill his wife, the fox-king, and their go-between.[5] As told in Kumaun, the story runs that the hero receives from four serpents a bed which transports its owner wherever he wishes to go, a bag which supplies unlimited rupees, a food-producing cup, and a spoon which gives anything asked for. These are stolen by his hostess in the usual way; then the hero tells the serpents, which give him a club which beats and a cord which binds when commanded, and by their

[1] Cosquin, i. 50, ii. 168. Dasent, p. 250; Thorpe, *Y.T.S.*, p. 326.

[2] *Ram*, Dasent, p. 263; Waldau, p. 41. *Sheep*, Jones, p. 161; Leger, No. 17; Schleicher, p. 105. *Horse*, Bernoni, i., No. 9. *Mule*, *Mélusine*, 1877, p. 129. *He-goat*, Leskien, No. 30; Asbjoernsen, i., No. 7. *She-goat*, Vernaleken, No. 11. *Cock*, Strackerjan, ii. 312. *Hen*, Schneller, No. 15; Kennedy, ii. 25.

[3] *F.L.R.*, i. 204. Croker, "Legend of Bottle Hill." Kirby, ii. 71. Day, p. 53. Mediæval saints, as well as the holy men of Islam and Buddhism, were reputed to have the power of producing a limitless food supply. *Cf.* Bérenger-Féraud, ii. 246 *seq.* for details.

[4] Vernaleken, No. 11; Dietrich, No. 8.

[5] Prym and Socin, p. 343.

means he recovers his treasures.[1] The story is even found among the Ashantis; probably it reached them in long distant ages. Anansee (the spider) found a pot which was always full of food. Taking it home he regaled himself in private, till his children found out the secret, enjoyed a hearty meal, and then broke the pot. Anansee was highly disgusted, but soon found a whip which began to beat him when he called it "whip." He hung it up at home, where his children, curious as ever, discovered it and each received a sound beating. But Anansee never recovered his magic pot.[2]

We may suppose that the magic cudgel occurred in the more primitive forms of the story, and that the boxes out of which leap armed men are a later improvement. Such weapons have already been discussed; we have now to look at the food-producing table, or table-cloth, or napkin, and the gold-producing animal. Before doing so, let us glance at some stories of a more tragic nature. The hero first comes into possession of a cup which produces all sorts of dishes. He meets a dervish, and exchanges the cup for a knife which kills when ordered. He bids it kill the dervish, and thus gets back his cup. In the same way he obtains a cap of invisibility, and then a flute which restores the dead to life. On his return the king deprives him of his cup; he sends his knife, which kills the king's guards and threatens the monarch with death if he does not restore the cup. He then bargains with the king to restore the dead guards for a large sum of money; but the king very sensibly says, "What do you want with money when you are so clever. I will give thee my daughter to wife instead."[3] This is the Greek version; there are

[1] Minaef, No. 12. For an Indian variant, see Stokes, No. 7.

[2] Cosquin, ii. 170.

[3] Garnett, ii. 130. *Cf.* Dozon, p. 220, for similar incidents in a story of the Aladdin type.

many others, in which the magic articles vary and the sequel of the story is different. The Bohemian variant has a food-giving table, a bagpipe producing soldiers, and a sack which supplies mighty castles. Grimm's German version has the table, a knapsack with soldiers, a hat which causes shots to be fired, and a horn which, like the Hebrew trumpets, overthrows the strongest cities when sounded. A wishing stone, a magic sword, and a piece of felt which restores to life, occur in a Georgian variant. A Kalmuk story has a flask which gives meat and cakes, a magic sword, a hammer which causes an iron wall to spring up when it is beaten on the ground, and a sack which, when shaken, produces rain.[1]

One of Dr Nassau's West African tales has some resemblance to those of this and the previous group. Jeki, the son of a king, is an incorrigible thief; to him his dead grandfather appears in a dream and bids him come to his town and be cured of this vice. On the way he meets various ghosts, embodied in curious shapes, fighting. To all of these he gives food and obtains their blessing, like the heroes of several tales of the Youngest Son cycle. When he has arrived at his grandfather's, the old man takes out Jeki's heart and cleanses it of the desire to steal. Then he gives him a pestle which will bring him whatever he wishes for, but he must take care never to speak or hear the word "salt." Should he do so, however, there is a secret remedy to undo the evil that will follow. Jeki returns home cured, and obtains rich food, wealth, and lands from his pestle; ships come to trade whenever he wishes for them; and he takes precedence of his brothers. Meanwhile, no one has pronounced the fatal word, but Jeki is suspicious of his half-brothers and causes the next

[1] Leger, No. 2. Grimm, No. 56. Wardrop, p. 11. Busk, *Sagas*, p. 82.

ships to come with a cargo of salt. They at once rush up to him, shouting "salt." Jeki makes his preparations, for his death is at hand, and bids his wives open a certain box on the day his successor is crowned. The box contains a handkerchief which he rubs all over his body and then replaces in the box. Finally he is drowned, and his half-brother takes his place. But when the wives come to open the box and unfold the handkerchief, lo, Jeki stands suddenly by their side, and going to his father bids him choose between his half-brother and himself. Jeki is, of course, chosen, and the jealous brother is drowned.[1]

In a third group of tales the hero meets some people quarrelling over the possession of certain magic objects. These are (Italian, German), a purse which always gives money or a magic sword, boots of swiftness, and a hat of invisibility.[2] The Greek version has, besides sword and hat, a poplar which will carry one anywhere, replaced in Indian and Kashmir variants by a bed or a chair with the same power; in addition, the Indian version has a bag which supplies all wants, and a stick and rope which beat and bind when ordered; the Kashmir a food-producing dish, collyrium, which, rubbed on the eyes, makes one invisible, and an old garment, the pockets of which produce all sorts of metals.[3] A Kalmuk story has a cap of invisibility and boots of swiftness.[4] The hero usually obtains these by setting the claimants to run a race; meanwhile, he puts on the shoes of swiftness or sits down on the magic bed or chair, and hey presto! disappears with the other treasures. There is also a Chinese version, where the hero gets from two men whom he finds fighting

[1] Nassau, p. 378. [2] *F.L.R.*, i. 211. Clouston, *P.T.*, i. 78.
[3] Garnett, ii. 225. Clouston, i. 83. Knowles, p. 86. *Cf.* Steel and Temple, pp. 281, 289.
[4] Clouston, i. 82.

for it, a stone, which when swallowed, makes the possessor bring forth gold from his mouth.[1]

Confining ourselves here to the food-producing table, or cloth, the purse which is always full, and such like desirable objects, we may see in them the folk-tale reproduction of the curious customs of mimetic magic. By this the mere imitation of an effect is thought capable of producing the effect itself. Imitate the action of rain falling, and you will produce rain in time of drought. Abstain from drinking or washing, and you will cause the rainfall to cease. Set a blazing wheel rolling down the hill, and you will encourage the sun to shine as it rolls round the heavens. Copy the details of a hunt in mimic ceremony, and you will have good hunting. All these things are actually done by savages everywhere, as they were done by our ancestors long ago. So now Australian blacks expect to increase the food-supply of witchetty-grubs by going through a series of actions imitative of the grub emerging from the chrysalis. The objects of our tales have all a connection with the things which they supply—table or cover with food, purse with money. Knowing the wide range and curious applications of mimetic magic, we may suppose that such objects are the imaginative reproductions of ceremonies gone through for the purpose of increasing food or wealth, *plus* the conceptions of sympathetic magic. The table implies food, *ergo* there may have been instances when it actually produced it. Some such reasoning lies behind these magical processes of our tales, though the connection of the objects with those actual

[1] *F.L.J.*, iv. 23. In an Esthonian story we have a hat which causes the owner to see everything, shoes of swiftness, and a magic rod—Kirby, ii. 25. For a Japanese story with hat and coat of invisibility, jewels which govern the tides, see p. 235. The literary form of all these groups is the famous mediæval chap-book story of Fortunatus.

ceremonies is not easy to trace step by step. We see it more clearly in an Esthonian tale, where the magician puts some drops of water on the grass and produces a lake, and with a shell and two fish-bones makes a boat and oars.[1] Like produces like. So the bag which produces rain when shaken, in the Kalmuk tale, suggests the ceremonies in use for that purpose among many primitive peoples, *e.g.*, shaking water from a pot, spirting it from the mouth, pouring it over someone who represents a deity. Again, in a Kashmir tale belonging to the third group, one of the magic articles is a stick on which whatever is written is produced. Here is an example of that magical power of the name already noted in the first chapter.

The animals which produce gold, and which enter into such a large range of tales, are less easy to explain. Perhaps, like so many other objects, they are the mere gorgeous products of the story-teller's brain working from the known (the magical effects which he knew) to the unknown and more mysterious. Some hint at an explanation is suggested by the Cinderella tales, in which the dead mother, transformed into an animal, produces riches or food from her horn. This is also suggested in a Kafir version of the first group. An ill-treated boy had a wonderful ox which produced food from its right horn when he struck it. The food returned when the left horn was struck. The ox advised him to remove the horns, but they still continued to supply his wants as before. At the next hut where he stayed, his host stole them, substituting ordinary horns, but in spite of this he could not perform the trick, and the boy recovered them. Finally they produced clothes, a large supply of provisions, and a house where the hero went to live

[1] Kirby, i. 244. Major Wingate, in his book on the Soudan, tells how it was believed that one of the Mahdi's rivals had a magic tent which would supply food for a whole army.

with the bride whom he had won.[1] It should be noted that, among the Kafirs, horned cattle are very valuable; great care is taken of them, and they are even taught to obey signals. In the one case the dead mother as a cow, in the other the already valuable ox, are raised to a level on which anything magical may happen. But, more likely, all such wonder-working animals are imaginative extensions of the friendly beasts who help the hero in many tales, or of the animals worshipped in actual life by savage and early man everywhere. The objects themselves recall the Greek myth of the horn of Amalthea, with its never-failing supply of food, and are illustrated by a Red Indian tale in which the sorcerer produces marvels with the aid of a reindeer horn and a rod of red willow.[2]

As for the shoes of swiftness, the cloak of invisibility, and the like, doubtless the wish to have such objects was father to the thought, and the next best thing to possessing them was to tell stories about them. Swiftness and strength were both desirable for primitive men, and it was natural to suppose that anyone who possessed these to an unusual extent had some magic source for them. The shoes of swiftness were suggested by the primitive sandals which protected the feet of the runner.[3] The cap or cloak of invisibility may, not improbably, have taken its origin from the disguises to which clothes lend themselves so easily, coupled with the desire of becoming invisible, as a protection from

[1] Theal, pp. 14, 158.

[2] Petitot, p. 73. In the Ramayana a king steals a hermit's cow which provides all her master's wishes. She returns to him, and he asks her to produce armies which overthrow the king's hosts—a truly Oriental version of the tales of the first group.

[3] Shoes of swiftness are made by Hermodr from the skin of the soles of her feet, by an Icelandic giant's advice. Powell and Magnusson, p. 397. The carpets and other articles which transport the owner anywhere at will are adaptations of the same idea.

enemies.[1] At all events, it is simpler and more in accordance with fact, to see in these, as in the magic rod or sword and other objects, actual products of primitive thought and custom, than to explain them as the detritus of ancient sun or storm myths. But in discussing the subject of the shoes of swiftness, it should be observed that all through the Middle Ages and indeed down to the seventeenth century, there was a general belief, giving rise to occasional circumstantial narratives, in the possibility of miraculously quick transit from one place to another, hours taking the place of days. Mysterious persons joined themselves to the solitary traveller, who found himself at his journey's end long before he should have done so.[2] Besides this belief, Celtic, Scandinavian, and Italian fairy and witch lore is full of stories of men caught up by witches or in a fairy-eddy and transported to a distant place by night, finding themselves far from home next morning.[3] With these, again, must be placed the current belief in the witch journey through the air to the Sabbat. That witches themselves believed in such aerial flights is undoubted; we may, however, refer them to the results of dreams, or (as is known to have been the case) to the effect of various potions, stimulating an imagination already filled with preconceived ideas and stories of nocturnal orgies. The excitement

[1] A cloak or cap of invisibility also figures in those stories in which the hero who wears it discovers why the king's daughters wear out so many shoes every night, viz., by their furious dancing far off in the forest—a reminiscence of the wild night-orgies of the folk-festivals. Jones, p. 288 (Magyar); Garnett, ii. 199 (Greek). Invisibility is attributed to savage medicine-men as it was to mediæval witches, to dwarfs, giants, and fairies.

[2] Calmet, in his *Traité sur les Apparitions*, i. 182 *seq.*, cites several of these stories.

[3] Several instances will be found in Keightley; see also Campbell (*Superstitions of the Scottish Highlands*), Sikes (*British Goblins*), Leland (*E.R.R.*), and other works on fairy lore.

produced by such orgies, last survivals of the old pagan sex-festivals, would surround them with a tissue of ridiculous fancies. The mental image was, later, held to be actual fact.[1] Savage medicine-men frequently claim the power of flying through the air, as in Pondo-land, where they say they travel on the thunder-cars, or of conveying men from place to place with incredible swiftness. Savage sorcerer and mediæval witch are in this, as in so many other things, on the same level.

There is little doubt, too, that the general belief in swift bodily passage through the air was strengthened by the alleged phenomena of levitation, of which the *Acta Sanctorum* are so full. In

[1] In many cases, witches strictly confined to prison and watched, said they had been present all the time at a Sabbat, and had been carried to and from it through the air. But it was all a dream, inspired by existing beliefs or by the action of drugs. These drugs which witches are known to have used, cause a feeling of vertigo, of swift motion through the air, and give rise to numerous other hallucinatory suggestions. Women of the Negro witch company are believed to leave their bodies asleep in their huts, their spirit bodies meanwhile taking part in the orgy at a distance, after having flown through the air (Nassau, p. 123). The orgy consists of feasting (sometimes on the "soul" of a victim) and dancing. These witches are members of a secret society, whose meetings exactly resemble those of mediæval witches. All must be home by cockcrow. For the sex-festivals, which continued in one shape or another down to comparatively late times, and which originated much of the belief in the witch Sabbat, see Karl Pearson, *Chances of Death*, vol. ii. They were largely attended by women, and doubtless many "witches" had been present at them. It was easy to graft on these orgies much of the current demonology, more especially as they were under the ban of the church and denounced as devilish. Similar orgies were engaged in by, or what is equally to the purpose as far as results are concerned, attributed to many mediæval heretical sects, and in those we find another suggestion of the Sabbat. In another direction the sex-festival with its dances on the green sward by moonlight suggested the belief in similar fairy dances seen by many a belated traveller, who, drawn into the dance, soon fell down fatigued, and was ready to tell any story of his experiences when he awoke next morning in the open air and found his companions of the night gone.

the ecstasy of devotion saint after saint was seen to rise from the ground and remain there suspended; of St Christine it was related that her body had been seen to fly to the ceiling of the church like a bird, while she could light on the tops of trees or towers with no apparent effort! Such levitations, recalling those of Daniel Dunglas Home, and the alleged transportation of mediums like Mrs Guppy from one house to another during a trance, have been matters of belief from early times. Buddhist saints and neo-Platonist ecstatics, savage medicine-men and European witches, join hand in hand with mediæval saints, Covenanters, and Irvingites, in this business of levitation.[1] Obviously, then, the compilers of the *Acta* did not altogether "farce their books with many feigned miracles," as Fuller insists. We are in presence of a universal phenomenon, or of a universal delusion, and either is highly interesting. In either case, whether there is "something in it" or no, whether we must refer it to the X region or to the father of lies, levitation no doubt served to strengthen the belief in aerial flights.

[1] The case of Home is discussed in Mr Podmore's *Modern Spiritualism*, where also those of the restless Mrs Guppy and of others will be found (ii. 81 *seq.*). Other cases are referred to in Mr Lang's *Making of Religion*, p. 361. Levitation of the saints is discussed in Calmet, i. 174-181, and in bk. iv. chap. 22 of Görres' *Christliche Mystik*, where much curious information is collected concerning the psychology of the saints.

CHAPTER VIII

FRIENDLY ANIMALS: PUSS IN BOOTS

THE incident of friendly animals which assist a hero in danger, or in the performance of difficult tasks, or bring him wealth and happiness, occurs in many story cycles as well as in a great many detached tales from various quarters. To most readers it is already sufficiently familiar from Perrault's famous version of Puss in Boots. We shall therefore examine this cycle first of all. The Magyar version has a fox as the *deus ex machina.* A poor miller had saved him from the huntsmen, and the fox brought him copper and gold, and offered to get him a wife. Having gone to King Yellowhammer's court, the fox said Prince Csihan had sent him to ask for his daughter's hand. The king at once granted the request. Next the fox brought him a lump of gold, saying the prince had no smaller change. "Dear me," thought the king, "what a rich fellow he must be," and begged the fox to bring him at once. On the way the miller is told to strip and go into the water, and the fox tells the king that they have lost all their possessions. Clothes and a retinue are at once sent to the miller, and the marriage duly takes place. On the way home the fox by strategy destroys the Vasfogu Baba, and takes her castle for the miller, who lives there in happiness with his bride. Then to test his character the fox shams illness, and is cast out on the dunghill,

"You a prince," muttered the fox, "you are nothing but a miller"; and, terrified out of his judgment, the ungrateful miller restored his benefactor to his place of honour in the castle. This story is also told in Bohemia, but a dog takes the place of the fox.[1]

Still worse treatment was meted out to the fox in an Italian version, closely parallel to this, for Don Joseph Pear threw dust at him, and on his threatening to reveal all, killed him. A Swedish story has a heroine instead of a hero, and she is helped by the family cat to riches and a princely husband. A cat also occurs in the Norse version called "Lord Peter," and in both a troll's castle is obtained by pussy's skill.[2] In Bengal a jackal is found by a princess eating betel-leaves, which so surprises her that she and her mother beg him to bring the king of the country to which he belongs. This is done; the king is a poor weaver on whom the jackal has taken pity. The bathing incident does not occur, and we have the additional incident of the weaver's retinue, *i.e.*, a thousand jackals, crows, and paddy-birds. Nor is there any palace for the poor princess to go to; she is taken home to the weaver's hut, where with Oriental submission she makes the best of things, and being a person of magical resource procures as much gold as makes the weaver as rich as the jackal had pretended he was. Among the Swahilis the long story of Sultan Darai and the gazelle has a closer parallel to the European versions, but introduces many original incidents. Thus after marrying Darai the gazelle

[1] Jones, p. 1. Vernaleken, *The Dog and King Yellowhammer.*

[2] Crane, p. 127. In the *Pentamerone*, a cat, left by a miserly father to his son, runs off when the latter ill-treats her—Burton, i. 163. Thorpe, *Y.T.S.*, p. 64. In two variants of this tale (74), the cat changes into a handsome prince; in a third the animal is a dog, who asks the girl to cut off his head, and when she does so he becomes a prince enchanted till a maiden shed his blood (73). *Cf.* the next group of tales, *infra*, p. 229. Dasent, p. 369; here the cat is left to the youngest son.

goes off to get him a palace. He comes to a town empty of all its inhabitants, where he kills a seven-headed snake, and then brings Darai and his wife to occupy it with their retinue. In the sequel the gazelle died of a broken heart at Darai's ingratitude, and Darai lost his princess and found himself back in his old mean hut—a poor weaver and nothing more. In the Kashmir version the jackal who helps the poor man does so to save his own life, because he was caught stealing the man's dinner. Even nearer to the European stories is one told among the Mongols. Here also the fox's life has been spared by the hero, and he obtains for him the khan's daughter after bringing the khan a leopard, lion, and elephant; the bathing incident and the obtaining of a palace by cunning, follow. The story has a curious form in Uganda. There, a herd-boy was advised by a leopard, who was delighted with his bravery, to come and live with him. Soon after, by the leopard's advice, he moved to a fertile district, where he became a great chief. One night the leopard appeared to him and told him to collect all his people into one house, and let none go out during the night. A tipsy man went out at midnight and saw many leopards, one of which he killed. It was the hero's friend. Soon after he returned from the dead, and told the chief that since he had allowed him to be killed he would have to go back to his old master and be a slave once more. That night disaster overcame the chief, and like Sultan Darai, he lost everything, and when morning came, found himself alone among the ruins of his town.[1]

Compare with this Uganda tale a Basuto story which has also a link of connection with the Cupid and Psyche group. A very poor man found an

[1] Day, p. 227. Steere, pp. 13-137. Knowles, p. 187. *F.L.J.*, iv. 32, "Folk-Lore of Mongolia." Johnston, ii. 708. The humour of this Uganda tale is exquisite.

ostrich egg which he carried home. Next day, on his return from hunting wild mice, he was astonished to find his hut tidied up and food prepared exactly as if he possessed a wife. A few days later a woman came out of the egg and agreed to be his wife, but told him never to call her the daughter of an ostrich egg when he was drunk. By her magic powers she furnished him with rich clothes, possessions, and a tribe of followers, and now he disdained his former occupations. But the foolish fellow in his cups called to his wife—"Daughter of an ostrich egg!" When he awoke next morning he was lying on the grass; rich clothes, possessions, people, and wife had disappeared; he became poor as ever, and tears and regrets were all in vain.[1]

The story from Uganda may or may not have been influenced by such other versions as have been cited; to my mind it suggests the kind of inchoate story from which the final Puss in Boots tale may have arisen. These later forms, moreover, have a moral like some of the more primitive tales, but it is wanting in others; while in a few the moral is the value of kindness to animals (Magyar, Mongol), in others the danger of ingratitude.[2] Still better, as showing what the primitive forms of the story may have been, are two tales, one Melanesian, the other Negro (Fjort).

The Melanesian story relates how Ganviviris, a lazy fellow, one day caught a fish, which in its struggles carried him off to a cave, where it turned into a woman, called Ro Som. She announced her intention of helping him. First he was to have several bags made and hung up; these, when made,

[1] Jacottet, p. 259. *Cf.* the Negro variant, p. 330.

[2] If the tale arose first in India as a Buddhist story inculcating kindness to animals, as the Benfey school allege, why does the Indian variant lack that moral? *Cf.* Lang, Perrault's *Tales*, Introduction.

he found filled with money. She returned several times, advising him how to expend it, so that he might obtain rank and gain a wife. But she forbade him to buy his rank in a certain place; if he disobeyed her, he would die. The foolish fellow, his head turned by the possession of so much gold, broke the command. That day a woman was seen entering his house; she was followed, but the house was found to be empty and all the money gone. Five days after, Ganviviris sickened and died. This story contains in germ some of the main incidents of Puss in Boots tales. There is another version of this story, in which Ro Som helps an orphan, but he disobeys and insults her, with the result (as in the African stories) that when he wakes up he finds his helper and all his wealth gone. The Fjort story is as follows. A prince could only marry a girl when he had found out her name. His dog watched his sorrow and resolved to help him. Listening at the girl's father's house he heard it, ran home, but forgot it by the way. This happened a second time; next time he carried it to his master, but on the way to claim her hand, both forgot it. The fourth time neither forgot, and the prince obtained a wife. Meanwhile an antelope, the unsuccessful claimant, waged war against him, but fell a victim to the hero's strength.[1]

Another group of stories has in its central incident—that of one friendly animal—considerable resemblance to the Puss in Boots cycle. In these stories the hero (or heroine) does something which an animal belonging to him advises him not to do, with the result that he is involved in a whole series of troubles and has to perform many tasks, winning in the end a handsome princess. Throughout he has been helped by the animal, who in the end bids him cut off its head. When he does so there stands before him a handsome prince, brother to the princess whom he has won, and

[1] Codrington, pp. 383, 387. Dennett, p. 35.

enchanted by a magician to animal form. This is Grimm's story of The Golden Bird, with a fox for the helpful animal; its Danish parallel has a horse who acts in the same way;[1] we have seen how, in Melanesia, the helpful animal can appear as a woman, voluntarily, not as a result of enchantment.

A myth in the Manabush cycle of the Menomini Indians has many points of resemblance to European tales, but is evidently quite original. An unsuccessful hunter was scorned by his wife because his luck was so bad. A wolf took pity upon him, and helped him to get plenty of game, reserving only the liver for himself. The woman insisted on getting this also, with the result that the wolf could get no more game, and now advised the hunter to go and seek a better wife. Before his departure he gave him one of his claws, telling him to wear it always, for so long as he wore it he would be successful. He then directed him where he would find a wife. Travelling onwards he encountered a family of the Elk people, and married their daughter. Now these people were always being beaten by the Moose people: it remained for the hunter to change the luck. In the diving and racing competitions which followed, the Moose people were easily beaten by the hunter, because he was invisibly assisted by the wolf and other animals whom he sent to assist him. The animals were *manidos*—spirits with animal forms. In revenge, the Moose people stole the hunter's wolf-claw while he was taking a vapour-bath, and, his strength being gone, they killed him and cut him in pieces, although the wolf fought hard for him. While the Moose-women were eating these, a little dog belonging to the hunter's mother-in-law attacked them and fled with his heel-bone, and having collected several *manidos*, gave the bone to Kakake, the Crow, who tossed it up four times. The fourth time, as it struck the ground, the hunter was

[1] Mulley, p. 1, "Mons Tro."

restored from the dead. He now attacked the Moose people and killed all but two, whose mouths he rubbed with willows, and that is why the moose now eats nothing else.[1]

As in many myths of a totemistic people, the Elk and Moose folk are as much animals as they are men. But we have here several formulæ of the Helpful Animal tales, wherever found—the friendly beast (in this case a semi-divine being), the talisman given by him, as well as the formula of restoration to life. The story is thus a good example of how various beliefs (the formulæ of *Märchen*) are welded together to form a genuine myth, which might in time have itself become a folk-tale.

We turn now to a Zuni tale which links on the Puss in Boots cycle to the stories of the Cinderella cycle, containing a helpful beast. A poor girl who herded turkeys, was unable to go to the sacred dance. The turkeys, who understand more than she thinks, commiserate her, give her jewels, and send her to the dance, bidding her not forget them or treat them in her prosperity as others treat her now. She is so much the attraction of the dance that she forgets the turkeys. Then suddenly she remembers them, and rushes off homewards. But the turkeys have gone for ever; her dress becomes what it was before, and she is left lamenting.[2] The introduction of this story suggests the Cinderella cycle; the girl's ingratitude connects it with the Puss in Boots group, while the incident of her misfortune is a clear parallel to the punishment meted out to the African and Melanesian heroes.

Many versions of the Cinderella cycle have, in place of the orthodox fairy godmother, a friendly

[1] *Bureau of Ethnology, 14th Annual Report* (1896), p. 182. The hunter in this story is the eldest of the three brothers in the bear story cited on p. 175.

[2] Cushing, p. 54.

animal, cow, bull, ram, or sheep, and when this occurs the animal is almost invariably the girl's mother transformed to that shape by sorcery (usually by a woman who becomes the second wife), or by the breaking of some command on her own or her daughter's part. The stepmother starves the child, but the animal feeds her in some magical way. This is found out, and the stepmother orders the animal to be killed. When this is done, the daughter, following the dead animal's instructions, buries the body, and from the grave obtains food, fine clothes, and jewels. This is a common European story, but the same idea of the help given by the dead is found in Melanesia; indeed it is perfectly natural wherever it is firmly held that the dead are as active as the living. A poor orphan boy was so maltreated by his rich uncle's wives, that he begged to be taken to a distant place. There, roasting birds one day, the fat fell through the earth on to the head of his dead father. He appeared above-ground as a ghost, and by magic produced for his son, food, gardens, a village, pigs, and fowls. Thus the boy became rich, and now the uncle's wives, in jealousy, carried him off while he slept, intending to eat him. He escaped, but on his return, all his wealth was gone, and his father had departed, mourning for the son whom he thought was untimely lost.[1] This is a sad ending compared with that of our European Cinderella tales, but savages seem fond of a catastrophe to end their stories!

To return to our European tales, sometimes a magic wand or some other article is found in the animal's body (Roman, Chilian); or again a tree springs from the grave and supplies what is needful (Finnish, etc.). In Russian, Serbian, Finnish, Roman, Corsican, French, and Gaelic versions, and in stories from Madagascar, India, and Kashmir, the animal is a cow. It is a bull in Transylvanian and

[1] Codrington, p. 389.

Norse tales, and in Russian and Gaelic stories it is a sheep.[1] Whether as woman, animal, or tree, the mother preserves her identity throughout. In these instances, as in the second Puss in Boots group, the animal is a human being transformed. But it is not improbable that the earlier form of the Cinderella tale was different. In the next chapter we shall see that at a certain stage of culture, marriage with a beast is deemed neither irrational nor improbable. So it does not in the least surprise us to find that a Scots story has preserved intact this primitive conception. Here the mother of Cinderella is a sheep from the first, though in the sequel, after being killed, she revives in the form of a beautiful princess who plays the part of fairy godmother.[2] The transformation incident is a later addition. A Swedish Cinderella story takes quite a different form. An ox helps the ill-treated stepdaughter, supplies her with rich dresses, and takes her to church on his back. When she is discovered she goes to the ox, who bids her requite him by cutting him in three pieces. This is done, and from the carcase steps forth a handsome prince who had been thus enchanted, and could never have regained his form without her aid. As so often happens in folk-tales, this Cinderella story has borrowed an incident from a story of another group — that represented by Grimm's Golden Bird.[3]

We now come to stories in which friendly animals (1) are born with the hero, or (2) become his servants, or (3) give him the power of transformation to their form, or (4) perform certain difficult tasks for him.

[1] For references, see pp. 108-9. Sometimes the animal, pike, bird, or bear (Swedish, Thorpe, *Y.T.S.*, p. 112 *seq.*), bird (Italian, Crane, p. 42), which helps the heroine, may be the relic of a divinity and not her mother in animal form.

[2] Miss Cox, p. 534.

[3] See p. 230 *supra*.

(1) The stories of this class belong mainly to that group in which the hero saves a maiden from the dragon to whom she is being offered as a sacrifice. They open with the incident of a fisherman catching a large fish, which bids him give part of itself to his wife, part to his mare, part to his dog, and to bury the rest in the garden. His wife has one, or in some versions, three sons; the mare has a foal; the dog has a puppy; and in the garden there springs up a tree which becomes the life-token of the hero. As in the Cinderella story, we must regard hero and animals as the continuation of the fish in another form. The help they render the hero is not usually well-defined; it consists in attacking the dragon; causing the recognition of the hero when an impostor has taken his place; while in those cases where there are three brothers, the youngest son's animals assist him to overcome the witch who has turned the others to stone, and then obtain the water of life which restores them.[1] The fish may be considered a friendly animal also, in so far as he gives the presumably childless woman offspring. Incidents analogous to this are found in savage folk-tales. A despised childless woman in a Kafir tale is given pellets by a bird, and after swallowing them she has a beautiful daughter. Two pigeons perform the same office for a Zulu woman who has fed them, just as a childless Armenian queen who had fed a dying bird obtained from it the gift of speech, and the magical means of having a daughter.[2]

[1] The story is found in Denmark (Mulley, p. 37), Brittany (Sébillot, i. 124), Lorraine (Cosquin, i. 60), Gascony (Bladé, *C. Agenais*, p. 9), Greece (Legrand, p. 161), Sicily (Gonzenbach, i. 269), Normandy (Carnoy, p. 135), Italy (De Nino, *Usi Abruzzesi*, iii. 321), Portugal (Coelho, p. 120), Serbia (Leskien, No. 10), Russia (Ralston, p. 57).

[2] Theal, p. 54. Callaway, p. 66. Von Wlislocki, p. 72. *Cf.* another African story, where the dogs, however, do nothing, but they and the hero are born in the same way. Macdonald, ii. 341.

(2) The help given by animals is more definite in this and the succeeding groups. Some tales belong to the Dragon-slaying cycle just referred to, but the animals are obtained in another way. This may be illustrated from a Magyar story. Two brothers overcame a wolf, a bear, and a lioness, who gave them their whelps as servants. The eldest rescued a princess given up to a dragon, but was afterwards slain by the impostor Red Knight. His animals discussed how they might heal him. The lion rushed off to get a rope; with it the bear tied the hero's body together; and the wolf, having obtained a life-restoring plant, rubbed his body with it till he revived. Each animal is then sent for food to the palace where Red Knight is being married to the princess, and, as they enter, the cushions on which he is sitting drop from under him. Finally, the hero enters, and is recognised, to the utter discomfiture of the false bridegroom.[1] A bear, a wolf, and a dog restore the hero of a similar Lapp tale to life; Hans, the knife-grinder's son is helped and restored by the fox, bear, and wolf of a Tyrolese story; while, as in the Talking Fish cycle, a Russian story recounts how the animal servants of one brother fight the dragon and restore the hero, and when he and they are later petrified by a witch, the other brother and his animals destroy the witch and bring them back to life.[2]

Stories from a lower level of culture may be compared with these, as presenting the same idea outside the limits of a regular story cycle. Little Peachling, a Japanese hero, set out for the island of the ogres to obtain their treasures. He took with him a number of millet dumplings. On the way he was successively asked by an ape, a pheasant, and a dog for a share of his food; he did not refuse, and

[1] Jones, p. 111.

[2] Friis, p. 170. Zingerle, p. 260. Leskien, p. 544. *Cf.* Grimm's story of "Water Peter and Water Paul."

was rewarded by the animals becoming his servants, helping him to fight the ogres and to obtain their treasures.[1] Or take this story from Polynesia. The hero, Rata, saved the life of a heron attacked by a serpent. Rata, who wished to build a canoe, but had been unable to do so while the heron's cries were disregarded, was now assisted by the bird, aided by many others. They made the canoe, and brought it to his dwelling, singing, "The entire family of birds of Kupolu honour thee above all mortals."[2] Again, in a Swahili tale, Mohammed the Languid saved the life of a white snake, which told him his courtesy would not be lost. Poor Mohammed's wife had been stolen by a jinn; the snake with three others brought him a huge man, who was to carry him to the city of the jinn. Through breaking a tabu Mohammed fell into the sea. Thence he was rescued by an old man, who said he was the snake's brother, while another brother gave him a magic sword, with which he slew the jinn and recovered his wife.[3] The wretched blind and diseased horse of a Pawnee story is own brother to the magic horses of European folk-tales. Kindly treated by a youth, it bade him plaster it over with mud. It became a beautiful steed, swift as the wind, and by its means the youth captured a buffalo, whose skin was reputed "great medicine," and obtained as reward the hand of the chief's daughter. Through the hero's neglect of the horse's advice, it was hacked to pieces by his enemies, but came to life again and brought him ten other beautiful steeds as a gift.[4] Stories such as these might be multiplied indefinitely; they all contain the same kind of incidents; and usually the animal rewards the hero for his kindness to it — an idea which suggests that kindness to

[1] Mitford, i. 267; Griffis, p. 37.

[2] Gill, p. 142. For a Maori version, see Clarke, p. 90; and a Samoan variant, in Turner, p. 215.

[3] Steere, p. 179.

[4] Grinnell, p. 87.

animals is not the sole possession of civilised man, and that such tales did not arise through Buddhist influence. Pawnees and Polynesians never heard of Gautama!

Helpful animal servants also occur in several tales of the Aladdin cycle, as may be seen from a Bohemian version. Jenik, the despised youngest son, saved a serpent, dog, and cat from the brutality of a mob, and in reward the first bade him ask a magic watch from the king of the serpents. By rubbing it, he obtained a palace and won a king's daughter's hand. She did not love Jenik, and having obtained the secret of the watch, caused herself and her palace to be transported far away. Jenik discovered her whereabouts from two crows, and by help of his dog and cat he arrived at his palace. The cat stole the watch and the dog swam with her across the sea, but, on the way, asked her if she had got the watch. "Yes," she replied, and the watch fell from her mouth into the sea. The cat forced a fish to bring it, and Jenik, by rubbing it, caused palace and princess to disappear, and continued to live happily with his animal friends.[1]

In other versions it is some other man who obtains the talisman and removes palace and wife. Here, usually, the hero buys his animals, cat and dog, and occasionally a rat also; the same methods of recovery are used, the talisman falls into the sea but is brought back by a fish (which had been put back into the sea by the hero when his father caught it). The hero then takes possession of his palace and his lost wife, and kills the thief. There are Greek, Italian, Albanian, Breton, and Russian examples of this form of the tale, as well as Arab and Hindu.[2]

[1] Leger, No. 15. In a Cypriote parallel the hero recovers his wife —Dozon, p. 219.

[2] Hahn, No. 9. Dozon, p. 63. Luzel, p. 151. Gubernatis, *Z.M.*, ii. 56. Scott, *Arab. Nights*, vi.; *Ind. Ant.* 1881, p. 347.

A Mongol story belongs to the same general type. A Brahman saved a mouse, monkey, and bear from death, losing his merchandise by doing so. Set adrift in a coffer, he was saved by these animals, and all lived together. The ape found a jewel, by which the Brahman obtained all he could wish for; but it was stolen by a merchant, and he was left as poor as ever. The mouse crept into the merchant's house and stole the talisman. Then it was lost again in the usual way, but recovered by the mouse who summoned the inhabitants of the water and bade them find it. So it was restored to the Brahman, who then obtained a palace, a city, a daughter of the devâs as a wife, while a hundred children were born to him![1] There is also an Aino parallel, in which a rich man's charm is stolen by an ogre. His puppy and fox-cub, fearing lest he and they starve, induce a rat to go with them in search of it. The rat scoops a passage into the giant's house, and all enter. While he is engaged nibbling a hole in a box in which the charm is kept, the puppy and cub take the form of children and dance before the ogre. Then they and the rat escape and bring the charm to the true owner, whom they, in a dream, make witness of all that has happened. Hence the Ainos think well of rats.[2]

An English gipsy variant makes Jack's valet steal his magic snuff-box, and so remove his palace. His father-in-law bids him recover it in a year, or he will never give him his wife again. Here, as in an Italian parallel, Jack obtains help from the king of frogs, the king of eagles, and the king of mice, who each give him one of their subjects, by whose aid he recovers his snuff-box.[3]

[1] Busk, p. 134. [2] Chamberlain, p. 16.

[3] Groome, *In Gypsy Tents*, p. 201. Crane, p. 152. In this Italian version the king of fishes and the king of birds assist the hero. I have already discussed the talisman of this cycle. See p. 202, where a Korean variant is also referred to.

In discussing the Youngest Son story-cycles we shall find how the hero, having rescued an eagle's young ones from a dragon, is carried by the eagle out of the underworld, where he has been abandoned. The eagle has to be fed by the hero as it flies, and in certain cases, the supply of food failing, he has to cut a piece of flesh from his own thigh. In this connection the incident has a wide distribution, and occurs in Gaelic, Russian, Bosnian, Tsigane, Transylvanian, Greek, Albanian, French, Indian, Tartar, and Avar tales.

(3) The incident of the power of transformation given to the hero by grateful animals is usually introduced by the same formula—a quarrel between the animals, decided by the hero. It mainly occurs in stories of the Separable Soul cycle.[1] Meanwhile I cite a Lorraine version as typical. A shoemaker met a lion, an eagle, and an ant, who asked him to decide on their respective shares of a dead ass. In gratitude the eagle gave him a feather, the lion a hair, the ant one of its feet, with the words, "When you hold this in your hand, you will be able to take my form." The hero rescued a princess stolen by a magician. As an eagle he flew to the castle; as an ant he entered; and as a lion he fought the lion, in whose head the magician kept his soul. After rescuing the lady he was thrown into the sea by her lover, who swore he himself had rescued her. There he was swallowed by a whale. A beggar bargained with the whale for a sight of the hero. More and more of his body emerged from its mouth; then, in a flash, he assumed his eagle form and flew away.[2]

Where this second incident occurs the story usually belongs to the Promised Child cycle, but also contains the dramatic Separable Soul incident. When the time comes for the redemption of the promise, the

[1] *Cf.* p. 134 *supra.* [2] Cosquin, i. 166.

hero runs away and meets the animals, who reward him with the gift of transformation. Then follow the rescue of the princess, the capture of the hero by the creature to whom he was originally promised, and his escape, as in the Lorraine story. This version of the tale is found in Greece, in Scotland, in Germany, and, modified, in Italy.[1] Sometimes, however, as in Campbell's first story of the Sea-Maiden, the animals promise their presence and help when the hero wishes them to come; or, as in a Tuscan story, they each give him seven times their own strength.[2]

Frequently, however, the story confines itself to the first incident—the necessary transformations to rescue the princess and destroy the giant. Of this there are Sicilian, Breton, Flemish, German, Tyrolese, Danish, Norse, and Basque examples. But in all cases the animals are exactly those needed to overcome the successive creatures in which the giant's soul is concealed.[3]

(4) Finally, in stories relating how impossible tasks were performed by animals, the capabilities or numbers of these animals exactly suit the circumstances. As a typical example we take that story cycle in which an impostor passes himself off to a king as his son, nephew, godson, etc., whom he has never seen, after forcing the youth to keep silence on the subject till he has died and been resuscitated. Through the impostor's wiles he is given several tasks to perform, among which the chief is to bring a beautiful princess, or to recover the king's wife (Pisan)

[1] Hahn, No. 5. Campbell, i. 96 (variant of the original). Koehler, ii. 117. Straparola, No. 9; the hero who captures Fortunio has no pre-natal right to him, but his adoptive mother has pronounced a curse on him that an ogress should carry him off.

[2] Campbell, i. 72. Gubernatis, *Novelline*, No. 23.

[3] Pitré, ii. 215. Sébillot, i. No. 9. Wolf, *D.M.*, pp. 20, 82. Zingerle, ii. No. 1. Grundtvig, ii. 194. Asbjoernsen, p. 223. Webster, p. 80.

or daughter (Lorraine). In a Greek version he fell in with a number of ants trying to cross a brook, bees whose honey is being devoured by a bear, and young crows attacked by a serpent. All of these, on the advice of his horse, he helps, and in return they assist him in the tasks set him by the lady before she will accompany him. The ants sort out a heap of millet and other seeds; the bees point out the maiden in the midst of a number of girls exactly like her; the crows procure for him the Water of Life.[1] In the Pisan version the hero shelters a fish, a nightingale, and a butterfly; the fish procures the lady's ring thrown by her into the sea, the nightingale brings the Water of Life, and the butterfly alights on her forehead and distinguishes her from the other women. The incident in the Lorraine story takes a different turn. Adolphe has to pass through the kingdoms of the fish, the ants, the rats, the crows, and the giants, and the king of each demands toll. In return each respectively gives him a bone, a foot, a hair, a feather, and a hair of his beard, that he may summon them with these when required. The maiden's captor bade him remove a mountain and put a garden in its place. Giants removed the mountain; ants and rats prepared the soil; and crows brought plants to place in it. They also fetched the Water of Life, while the fishes recovered the ring. Next Adolphe had to bring the palace of the captor and set it beside that of the king. Ants and rats loosened its foundations; four giants carried it to the ship; and the fishes, like the Nereids with the Argo between Scylla and Charybdis, bore it over the waves.[2]

A Danish story omits the impostor incident, but the hero, Mons Tro, has to fetch for a king the loveliest princess in the world. On the way, by the advice of his horse and a poodle, he feeds the fishes,

[1] Hahn, No. 37. For a variant, see Garnett, ii. 28.

[2] Comparetti, No. 5. Cosquin, i. 32. For other parallels, see p. 56.

the wolves, and the bears, and many giants. The fishes recover the castle keys thrown by the princess into the sea, carry the castle itself when the giants have taken it from its foundations; the bears and wolves, however, do nothing, and Mons Tro gets the Water of Life himself.[1] The hero of a Slavonic tale is set the tasks of separating poppy-seeds from ashes, and of bringing a pearl from the depths of the ocean. Ants whom he has fed perform the first task, and a fish whom he has saved the second. In a Bohemian variant the hero saves the ants from burning, feeds the ravens, and puts a fish back into the water. All promise to help him. The ants find Princess Golden Hair's pearls in the meadow; the fish recovers her ring from the sea; and the ravens bring the Water of Life. With it he resuscitates a dead fly, which, in gratitude, helped him to choose out Golden Hair from twelve girls all alike.[2] A Magyar tale resembles these as well as the stories of the Impostor cycle. The hero is the youngest of three brothers. The others, jealous of the youth, cause the king to set him tasks —to gather all the corn in a night; to build a bridge of wax; and to bring twelve immense wolves into the courtyard. But he has already helped the king of the mice, a bee, and a dying wolf. The mice collected the grain; the bees made the bridge; and the wolf brought not only twelve of his kind, but all the wolves in the country, who tore king, courtiers, and jealous brothers to pieces.[3]

The same incidents occur in Eastern tales. The Prince of Sind fed locusts and a herd of wild animals. These assist him in the tasks which he must perform before wedding a certain princess. The locusts separate a huge heap of grain; the animals drink up a reservoir which he has to drain; and genii help him in constructing a palace in return for kindness done

[1] Mulley, p. 1. [2] Leger, No. 25. Naake, p. 97.
[3] Jones, p. 152.

to them. A Tamil story resembles this. Ants and frog help the hero to separate seeds from dust and to recover a ring. These tasks have been set him by Indra to perform ere he will find his lost wives. A Malagasy tale presents a still closer likeness. Seven brothers are suitors for a girl's hand; only the youngest feeds certain animals. The six elder brothers fail in accomplishing the tasks set by the girl's father; the youngest succeeds by the aid of the grateful animals. The wild hog and his fellows dig up a grain-field; the crows collect the rice; wasps drive in the wild ox; and the crocodiles obtain certain eggs from the lake. In a variant, Andrianoro has to pick out the mother from her daughters, whom she exactly resembles; this he does by the aid of a friendly fly.[1]

Obviously these tales have had, so far as the friendly animals are concerned, a common origin though they have spread so far. A similar incident is embedded in the *Ko-ji-ki*, the sacred book of Japan. The Deity Great Name Possessor went to Hades to get counsel of its lord. He fell in love with his daughter, who now became his protector against her father's wiles. When he sent him to fetch an arrow from the moor, the treacherous lord of Hades set the moor on fire. A mouse instructed the hero where to hide from the flames, and afterwards brought him the hidden arrow. Still closer is a Zuni story, in which a girl will accept no lover who does not bring her many scalps. An outcast youth who lives with the dogs, who are his friends, resolves to try, and with their aid obtains the scalps, and weds the maiden.

[1] Clouston, i. 237. *Cf.* a Hindu parallel in Stokes, No. 22. *Dravidian Nights' Entertainments*, p. 109. *F.L.J.*, ii. 47; i. 206. It is remarkable how often ants assist the heroes of folk-tales in separating out a heap of different grains. The incident occurs in the classical tale of Cupid and Psyche. Cosquin, ii. 243, as usual, attributes the origin of the idea to Buddhist sources.

When the rejected suitors plot his destruction the dogs carry him the tidings, and warn him against them.[1]

Without stopping to consider other definite story cycles in which friendly animals figure, I shall refer to a variety of such incidents in widely scattered folk-tales, mostly from savage or barbarian sources. Among the Chinese the incident is a common one. A man took care of a wounded bird, which, when the man turned ill, brought him herbs which saved his life; another bird brought its rescuer four bracelets; a serpent rewarded the emperor Ho-Ti with a fine carbuncle for healing it. Most curious of all is a story in which a tiger killed a woman's son. The magistrate agreed to pardon it, provided he would be as a son to the woman. The woman was angry, but subsequently came to care for the tiger when he brought her food every morning, and many things of price.[2] A curious parallel is found among the Eskimo. A woman and her child, when starving, caught a partridge. She threw this to an enormous bear which threatened their lives. Every day a supply of newly-killed seals was laid at her door by the grateful bear. In another Eskimo story wild geese take pity on a youth whom his mother has blinded, and restore his sight.[3]

Among all African races such stories are common. The Hottentots say that three brothers visited their sister, who did not know them, and resolved to kill them. But they had a guinea-fowl which watched over them and warned them of her coming. A second time the bird did so but could not waken the brothers, and they were killed. It rushed to their parents;

[1] Chamberlain, p. 71. The deity and the girl escape together after making the lord of Hades a prisoner. He afterwards pursues, and ends, as in many folk-tale incidents of this kind, in giving them advice. Cushing, p. 185.

[2] Dennis, p. 136. Giles, i. 219. [3] Rink, pp. 101, 462.

the father changed himself into a strong wind, the bird into a thunderstorm, and then destroyed the woman and all her people. Among the Fjort it is told how the goddess Nzambi's people had no drum wherewith to dance. The wagtail made one, but kept it to herself. The antelope and the ox were sent to get the drum, but were killed; the people were in despair. Then the ant volunteered to go; he could never be seen, he was so small! So he entered the wagtail's house, and carried off the drum unperceived.[1] The incident of animal help occurs in many Red Indian stories also. Some have already been referred to; others contain the idea that all the animals live underground. They have magical knowledge, and are under a chief. We have already seen how European tales speak of the king of the mice, the crows, etc. In a Pawnee tale, a boy, poisoned by a shaman, was led by an elk and a bird to this animal land where there are no people. There he was cured, and taught their magic lore. They told him he was their kinsman, because he and they were made by Ti-ra-wa; they would always help him, but in difficult cases he must appeal to this divinity. White Flower, says a Hareskin story, was stolen, but killed her ravisher and escaped. On returning home she had to cross a swollen river, when a wolf appeared and said, "Seat yourself on my back." She had no sooner done so than the wolf leaped into the river and carried her safely to the other side. In an Eskimo tale a woman and her daughter, abandoned by the villagers, are fed by a shark, who takes up his abode with them, and finally carries them on his back to an island, when some dangerous dwarfs molest them.[2] Finally, a story from British Guiana relates that once the birds combined with men to slay a huge water-serpent.

[1] Bleek, p. 65. Dennett, p. 124.

[2] Grinnell, p. 98. Petitot, p. 248. Rink, p. 270.

The warriors were afraid, and the serpent was overcome by a cormorant, which was rewarded with the skin of the reptile.[1]

How are all these incidents of animals helping men, to be explained? Some, like Benfey, Cosquin, etc., trace them all to Buddhist sources, since tenderness to animals is part of the Buddhist ethical code; and an animal, having been a man in some previous existence, naturally may show human traits now and then. Some story cycles, like that of the Dog Gellert, or Androcles, or that other in which a man rescued with certain animals, turns against his rescuer whom the animals assist,[2] may certainly be traced, step by step, to Indian Buddhist sources.[3] But this is too narrow a basis on which to rest the numerous cycles in which the idea occurs, while it leaves

[1] Brett, p. 173. Other definite story cycles contain the incident of Friendly Animals. (1) Animal servants restore the hero to life when he has been cut to pieces by the ogre, robber, etc., who has overcome him by connivance of his sister (*cf.* p. 58). In a Roumanian tale a fox and wolf cub (*R.F.T.*, p. 81), and in a Slavonic tale, animals which are enchanted men restore the hero. (2) Sometimes, in stories of the Promised Child cycle, the hero escapes from his captor by the intervention of a friendly animal, which he finds shut up in a Forbidden Chamber (see chap. xv., and some curious Russian variants in Ralston, p. 134). (3) Stories of the Ungrateful Serpent type, in which the reptile, saved by a man, turns upon him, but he is finally rescued by a friendly fox (Albanian and Norse versions in Clouston, i. 263; Crane, p. 150, cites Italian versions; Bleek, p. 13, gives a Hottentot parallel, with a hyena as *deus ex machina;* while in a Hindu tale the serpent itself relents and rewards the man—Clouston, *E.R.*, p. 231). (4) The large series of stories in which a kindly disposed person is richly rewarded by an animal, while the jealous brother, sister, neighbour, etc., treats the animal with contumely, and is punished by it. (Swedish variants in Thorpe, *Y.T.S.*, p. 35; there are also German, Bohemian, Magyar, and Danish stories of this type. Chamberlain, p. 23, gives an Aino story, and Theal, p. 47, a Kafir variant.)

[2] Baring-Gould, p. 134. *Panchatantra*, i. sect. 71; ii. sect. 128. *Katha Sarit Sagara*, x. 65. Steere, p. 427.

[3] We may dismiss the theory of mythologists like Gubernatis, who see in all animal stories the survival of nature myths.

altogether unexplained the instances from savage countries quite outside the range of Buddhist influence even through dissemination. Again, as Senart has pointed out, the Buddhist teachers probably adopted already existing tales to serve their hortatory purposes, as did the mediæval monks to enforce Christian doctrines.[1] While the story cycles, as such, may have had a single origin, the idea involved in them must be sought in some world-wide belief which suggested the mere incidents of animal help independently in many quarters.

Such a belief we find among primitive races everywhere, while the survivals in folk-lore, etc., among higher races suffice to show that they also have passed through such a stage of belief. It is that animistic stage of thought in which men, having discovered some animating principle in themselves, endow all other living creatures and also inanimate things with the same, and ascribe to them a personality equal to their own. Confining ourselves here to animals, it is obvious that, if early man judged them to have the same animating principle as himself, to be, in effect, men with an animal form, there was no limit to what animals might not do. This is precisely the stage in which present-day savages now are. That animals can talk and act like men in every possible way, is a living belief with Ainos, Red Indians, Australians, Hottentots, Negroes. The Aino, says Mr Chamberlain, does not make-believe in narrating his stories, to him they are all actual facts; while Mr Dennett says of the tribes of the Fjort that they are yet in the stage at which it is believed that animals can talk.[2] But to multiply proofs of the existence, past and present, of such a stage of thought is an unnecessary task at this time of day. The result of this belief is a curious conception of the

[1] *Journal Asiatique*, 1873, p. 114.

[2] Chamberlain, p. 3; Dennett, p. 69.

origin of men and animals. Some Red Indian tribes believe that in the beginning men were animals, and animals were men; then they changed themselves or were changed into what they are now.[1] Obviously, similarity of nature is predicated here. Or all animals were first men, and then were changed into their respective shapes.[2] Or, as in the Arunta belief, men were at first of an amorphous form, midway between human beings and those animals whose totem names they were eventually to bear.[3]

If animals shared a common life with man and were in all things like him, it was natural that kinship between the life of men and animals should have been thought possible; while this and the fact that some animals were stronger, and some more subtle than men, led on to their worship. Here, then, is a stage of thought in which help rendered by animals to man is neither incredible nor irrational, and from it we may readily conceive such incidents to have sprung. Men who worship animals as divinities do so in order to get their aid, and their conclusion is that they do get it. In some cases, then, as I have already hinted, the animals who help men in folk-tales were originally animal divinities. An Aino legend explaining why the screech-owl is worshipped, may be cited here in this connection. These birds are men in the spirit world. The first Aino who ever saw one at once offered sacrifice to it, and during the night a man appeared to him in a dream and thanked him for the worship, saying he would, in future, point out where game was to be found, and warn men in time of danger.[4] Again, several Slavonic stories in which a pike figures as the hero's protector may be traced to a period when the pike had a high place in religion

[1] Petitot, p. 275.
[2] Leland, *A.L.*, p. 109.
[3] Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes*, p. 388.
[4] Batchelor, ed. 2, p. 420.

and mythology.[1] But, more directly, all such stories may be set down to that curious institution of Totemism, and its kindred belief in personal guardian animals, represented by the Red Indian *manitou*. However Totemism arose, it presupposes the animistic stage of thought. Briefly, it may be described as an institution in which a human clan and an animal species are related by virtue of descent from a common (animal) ancestor. The clan is called by the name of the animal species in question; thus, among the Arunta, we have such totem-clans as the Little Hawk, Witchetty Grub, and Lizard. The animals of the species are held sacred; they, or the common ancestor, are worshipped; while, in return, they are believed *to protect and help* the men of the same clan name. To us this is as irrational as the animal-help incidents of folk-tales; to those who believe in Totemism it is the most natural thing in the world. Our folk-tale incidents have, therefore, a clear link of connection with such an institution as this. This becomes all the more likely when we find that Totemism is not an isolated institution among Australians, Red Indians, and the like, but has entered into the history of probably every branch of the human race. Most savage peoples are still governed by beliefs and customs which have a totemistic origin, while the survivals of the institution among ancient Egyptians, Semites, and Aryans speak as eloquently of a forgotten past as do the fossils of the sedimentary strata or the rude flint weapons of the drift.

Where Totemism is no longer a living institution among lower races, the belief in animal assistance is by no means dead. Thus among the negroes of the Fjort many families will not touch certain animals, because their ancestors owed them a deep debt of

[1] Ralston, p. 266.

gratitude, as many of their stories describe.[1] Such stories are ætiological myths invented to explain why the animal was venerated. At a later time they would become folk-tales, viz., when the actual reverence for the animal had become a thing of the past. So it does not astonish us to find a man in a Malagasy tale making a blood-covenant with the animals, who then assist him when required. The dim memory of a time when animal kinship was believed in, as well as the continuance of animistic ideas, suggests the possibility of making such a covenant.[2]

The friendly animal of our folk-tales may also have been suggested by such a belief as that of the Red Indian in his *manitou*. The *manitou* is usually an animal which makes itself known to the youth at puberty in a dream, and thenceforth becomes his guardian spirit, and is inseparably connected with his life, implicit faith in its power to help and advise being placed in it. Among the Zapotecs this animal protector was called a *tona;* among the Guatemalans, a *nagual;* among the ancient Peruvians, a *pacarissa.*[3] Somewhat akin to this was the Roman *genius* which accompanied every man through life as his protector, and frequently took shape as a serpent.[4] It is possible that such a belief was cherished by other races; at all events it has its analogy in the common custom of transferring one's soul to an animal or plant for safety,[5] while, as in the case of the Calabar Negroes already referred to, who believe that man has four souls, one of these is held to live in an animal out in the bush, and with it the owner's life is inextricably mixed up.[6] It is easy to see how such beliefs may

[1] Dennett, p. 10. *Cf.* p. 148. One family will not eat pigeon, because an ancestor, imprisoned in a cave, was helped by one, which scratched a hole and let light into his prison.

[2] *F.L.J.*, i. 307.

[3] See my *Religion, its Origin and Forms*, pp. 44-5.

[4] Jevon's Plutarch's *Romane Questions*, xlvii. *seq.*

[5] See chap. v. [6] Miss Kingsley, p. 208.

have given rise to folk-tales of helpful animals. Some of our North American tales are a direct instance of this.

Or, again, another primitive belief may have suggested the idea, viz., the belief that a man's soul enters into an animal or takes animal form after death, and then acts as protector of his household. The Zulus believe that certain snakes which are seen about a house are such ancestors; they speak to men in dreams, and are much revered by them.[1] So many of the aboriginal races of India think that such house-haunting animals as the snake or rat are ancestral ghosts who have returned to protect their descendants.[2] Where totemism is still a living belief it is commonly held, as among some Red Indian tribes, that a man assumes the form of his clan's totem animal at death.[3]

All these various beliefs point back to a time when it was far from irrational to credit animals with the power of helping men, while they show whence such incidents in folk-tales arose. Once the idea was incorporated in a story, the variations on the theme would become endless.

In such savage tales as the Zulu and Kafir versions of an animal which causes child-birth; the Uganda Puss in Boots story; that of the Pawnee horse; or the Malagasy story of animals helping the youngest brother, we see precisely the incidents out of which the more complex cycles of the King of the Fishes, Puss in Boots, the Magic Horse, and the Youngest Son with his friendly animals, were respectively formed, possibly at a time when animal help was still firmly believed in. Then as a stage was reached when the belief had become more or less irrational, it was made more credible by the sug-

[1] Callaway, p. 196 *seq.*
[2] Lyell, *Asiatic Studies*, 2nd ser., 299.
[3] Frazer, *Totemism*, p. 22.

gestion, occurring in some variants of such cycles, that the animal was really a man transformed by *diablerie* into that form. Or, in some cases, as in those tales which may be traced to India, the irrational stories were taken up by religion, and made to serve a rational purpose as vehicles of ethical lessons.

CHAPTER IX

BEAST-MARRIAGES: BEAUTY AND THE BEAST

OF all the irrational incidents of folk-tales none is more irrational than that in which a human being is wedded to a beast. In the more primitive versions the beast is a beast pure and simple; in the more elaborate forms of the tale it is an enchanted prince or princess. Perrault's tale of Beauty and the Beast is the classic example of this second form, but it has parallels in every European country. The Beauty and Beast cycle has a link of connection with the Cupid and Psyche cycle, but whereas in the former the beast-marriage is the outstanding incident, in the latter it is the broken tabu. Both, however, have been influenced by that stage of primitive thought in which the possibility of such a union was far from being incredible. Citing first some versions of the Beauty and Beast cycle, we shall follow it in its more primitive forms throughout the world.

The story as told among the Basques relates that a king on leaving home asked his three daughters what he would bring them. The youngest asked for a flower. When plucking the flower in a garden the king heard a voice asking what he was doing, and telling him he must bring one of his daughters within the year or he and his kingdom would be burned.[1]

[1] This links the cycle on to the Promised Child cycle (p. 421). We may here have a reminiscence of the primitive idea that no tree or plant should be cut without propitiating the indwelling spirit.

The youngest daughter went, slept in the castle all night, but saw no one. In the morning a voice said, "Shut your eyes; I wish to place my head on your knees." The voice was that of an enormous serpent, but the girl was not hurt, and continued to live happily. One day she was allowed to go home for three days, and was given a ring which would tell her the condition of her serpent lover. On the fourth day she found it blood-red, and hurried off. The serpent was nowhere to be found. At last she discovered him, and he asked her to be his wife. She agreed, and on the way to her father's palace the serpent was changed into a beautiful youth, who gave the girl a serpent's skin, and bade her burn it before the clock had ceased striking at midnight or he would be miserable ever after. She performed this duty successfully, and a voice was heard saying, "I curse your cleverness and what you have done." In this as in two other Basque variants the monster is a man bewitched until some woman will love him in his monster form.[1]

There are Polish, Tyrolese, Italian, Sicilian, Portuguese, and Lithuanian versions of this tale, all emphasising the girl's forgetfulness and disobedience in staying too long at home, while the Lithuanian story gives a curious turn to the skin incident.[2] The girl is united to a white wolf; her mother burns his skin, and she has to go to seek him in consequence. A Magyar variant introduces a pig who helps a king out of a difficulty on condition that he gives him his youngest daughter. The pig marries her, and becomes a handsome youth who had been condemned to that form until a girl should ask for speaking grapes, a smiling apple, and tinkling apricots.[3] The Greek

[1] Webster, p. 167 *seq.*

[2] Toeppen, p. 142. Zingerle, ii. 391. Comparetti, p. 64. Pitré, No. 39. Coelho, No. 29. Leskien, No. 23.

[3] Jones, p. 130.

version differs from these. The king brings his daughter a melodious napkin, and she has no sooner hung it up than an eagle appears. He is king of birds, snakes, and insects, and when with her takes human form. Her sisters strew broken glass on the window by which he enters the palace, and next time he cannot enter, and flies off hurt and bleeding. In the sequel he is restored by the princess, and the jealous sisters are destroyed. This story, in which there is no enchantment, has a number of variants, Italian, Norse, Indian, though in some (Roman, Indian) the prince is a man and nothing more.[1] They resemble another Italian story, in which a snake demands a woodman's daughter on pain of death if refused. In the palace to which she is carried off, the snake becomes a handsome man, who forbids her to reveal his secret. Her sisters worm it out of her, when prince and palace disappear. Not till she has worn out a pair of iron shoes does she find him, married, alas, to another wife. Happily, when he discovers his first love he goes off with her, leaving his palace as a consolation to the second wife.[2] A Kashmir story, which has some likeness to this, illustrates more clearly the danger of breaking a tabu. A princess has married a water-snake who can take the form of a beautiful youth. But he has already several serpent-wives, one of whom takes human form and tells the princess he is of low caste, and to prove it let her ask him to throw himself into the water. Once in the water, he will be in his wives' power; but though he urges this the princess insists, and, of course, loses him. Later, she discovers him; he changes her into a pebble and takes her below the water where, in human form, she is bitten to death by the jealous serpent-wives. In the sequel she is

[1] Garnett, ii. 3; *F.L.J.*, ii. 241. Basile, *Pentamerone*, i. 46; Crane, p. 12; Busk, p. 57 (Italian). *Tales from Fjeld*, p. 311. Stokes, p. 195.
[2] Gubernatis, No. 14.

restored to life, and the pair live happily ever after.[1]

Another form of the enchanted animal bridegroom group is that of the Wooing Frog, exemplified in the English tale of the Well at the World's End. Here a stepdaughter is sent to fill a sieve at the well; the frog advises her to daub it with moss and clay, asking her, in return, to do what he tells her a whole night long. She returns home, and at night the frog arrives and demands to sleep with her. The curtain falls till morning, when the frog bids her chop off his head. A handsome prince who had been enchanted till a girl should obey him for a whole night, immediately appeared.[2] We have already noted that the animal in the true Beauty and Beast cycle retains his form till disenchanted by the human lover. This frog story suggests the horror which must be overcome first, and is typical of a whole series of reptilian bridegroom stories. Here is a Kafir example, part of the story of the Bird who made Milk. One of the children who escaped from their father meets a friendly crocodile, which takes him under the water, gives him cattle and one of his daughters, and bids him bring his sister to him. When she arrives, the crocodile says, "Lick my face." She consents, and in the process he casts his skin and a handsome man appears, who tells her that he had been bewitched by his enemies, but that his wife's devotion is stronger than their magic. We have a similar example of this idea, which is of course that of Keats's *Lamia*, in an Esthonian story, but with the sexes reversed.[3]

A herd-boy made friends with a white snake, which used to play with him and twine round his leg. One

[1] Knowles, p. 491.

[2] Jacobs, p. 215, from "The Complaynt of Scotland." Grimm gives several variants in his notes to "The Frog Prince." *Cf.* also Child, *English and Scottish Ballads*, i. 298.

[3] Theal, p. 29. *Cf.* p. 321 *infra.*

midsummer eve, feeling very sad, the youth beheld a lovely maiden who told him she was the daughter of an Eastern king, enchanted for many centuries to the form of a white snake, with permission to resume her human shape on this particular night every twenty-five years. He is the first human being who has not fled from her. When next she appears, she will wind herself three times round his body and kiss him three times. He must not shrink, or she will remain a snake for ever. When she kissed him the youth stood firm, and with a crash and flash, found himself in a wonderful palace side by side with the beautiful girl, who now became his wife.[1] We have precisely the same incident in the Scots ballad of *Kempion*, while in a Russian tale the hero, changed to the form of "a terrible snake" by a foe, recovers his true shape when a girl is induced to kiss him.[2]

Other stories, of which some more elaborate types have been cited, are probably earlier than those in which enchantment has produced the beast form. The hero has himself the power of transformation, and is usually, though not always, an animal possessed of this power. A Kafir maiden became the wife of a chief, who appears as a five-headed snake, but later becomes a man. A Russian story has some resemblance to this. Some girls were bathing, when a snake came out of the water and sat upon the clothes of one of them, nor would he move till she promised to marry him. She agreed, and that night an army of snakes came and seized her, diving into

[1] Kirby, i. 308. The lamia of Keats's poem, like that of Philostratus, *De Vita Apollonii*, bk. iv., is a phantasmal serpent, who vanishes when her secret is discovered. She is twin sister to Melusina, the serpent-woman, who must never be seen in her serpent form by her husband. These stories form the strongest link of connection between those we are now examining and the Cupid and Psyche (tabu) cycle. For Melusina, see Baring-Gould, p. 471.

[2] Scott, *Minstrelsy*, p. 345. Ralston, *Songs of the Russian People*, p. 174.

the water with her. There they became men and women. After staying some years with her husband, she was allowed to go home, where her mother discovered her husband's name, and going to the water called on him. He came up to the surface, and she instantly chopped off his head with her axe. It is not expressly said that the snake forbade his wife to tell his name, but it is evident that here we have a very early version of the broken tabu incident, as the result is absolutely fatal, which it seldom is in stories of the kind.[1] A fiery snake is a common figure in Russian lore, the antagonist of handsome heroes, the abductor of pretty women, and sometimes kills and eats his fair prisoners, but is more usually destroyed by their lovers or brothers.[2] A Zuni story tells how the daughter of a chief bathed in a pool sacred to Kolowissi, the serpent of the sea. Kolowissi was angry, and took the form of a child, which the maiden carried home to her room. There it became a monstrous serpent, with whom it was decided she must depart. As she went off with the serpent leaning his head on her shoulder, he changed to a beautiful youth, who spoke to her. She looked round and saw his face instead of that of the dreaded serpent. She was incredulous, but he showed her his shrivelled serpent skin in proof, told her he was the god of the waters, that he loved her and would make her his wife.[3] This tale has many resemblances to one told in Guiana among the Guaranos. After the flood

[1] Theal, p. 47. Ralston, p. 116. The idea of a serpent race living under the water is widespread, and is found in Japan, India, and elsewhere. In the Zuni and Guiana tales which follow, the serpent is a water-sprite, and in primitive belief the spirit of the waters is frequently conceived as a serpent (see p. 407). As man's religious conceptions advance his worshipful spirits and gods assume more and more a human form, but preserve traces of their animal form, and from this such tales take their origin.

[2] Ralston, *Songs of Russian People*, p. 173 *seq.*

[3] Cushing, p. 93.

they were warned to beware of one lake. Ages passed, and two girls went to bathe there. The elder saw a piece of charmed wood floating; she took it up, thus breaking the charm, and it became a man, or rather a water-spirit enchanted by a mightier power till some one should pick up the piece of wood. He seized the girl and took her with him, allowing her to return home after some time. There she gave birth to a daughter. Then she heard how her lover was disporting himself in the lake, now as a snake, now as a man, now as a being with both natures. She went to see for herself, and was again captured by the snake. This time she gave birth to a son. This child was killed by her brothers, but came to life again, and was the ancestor of the Carib race.[1]

The serpent of the Zuni and Carib stories is a divinity; before citing some other tales in which the beast lover is a god, I shall refer to one from New Guinea, which presents some parallel features to the Zuni tale. A beautiful girl was beloved by the chief of a strange tribe, who feared to enter her father's territory lest he should be killed. A sorcerer gave him a charm which enabled him to become a snake as soon as he crossed the boundary, and in this form he entered the girl's hut. She screamed, but her father saw he was really a man, and bade her go with him, because he must be a great chief to be able thus to transform himself. The girl obeyed, but at the boundary the snake disappeared. Presently a handsome youth came up to her, and told her he was the snake, showing certain burns on his feet and legs. This convinced her, because, following her father's advice she had burnt the snake with a hot banana leaf to make him go faster.[2]

[1] Brett, p. 64.

[2] Romilly, p. 98. *Cf.* the werwolf idea, that when the animal is wounded the witch who has taken that form is found with a similar wound.

Classical mythology has made everyone familiar with the custom of the gods to assume bestial forms for amorous ends. Such myths are survivals of a time when the god was believed to be an animal, as is shown by similar stories from a lower stage of culture. On the other side of the world the Hervey Islanders tell of Ina-moe-aitu, who used to bathe daily in a stream where dwelt a huge eel. One day the eel changed into a young man, and told her he was Tuna the eel-god, and that he had fallen in love with her. From that day he loved her in human form, but resumed his eel-shape on returning to the water.[1] The origin of a dangerous rock on the river Faleme in Senegambia is thus explained. Penda, a chief's daughter, used to go secretly to the riverside to meet her handsome lover. One night he proposed that they should flee, and leapt with her into the river. She found herself dragged down to its depths, where she was placed in a submarine palace. Her lover spoke to her; she turned and beheld a frightful caiman, whom she resisted with all her power. She called on her family divinity to aid her, and he turned her into stone. Obviously, the caiman is a water-divinity in this tale, though I shall presently cite some parallels where he is a beast pure and simple.[2] The Ainos have many such stories, especially of beast-goddesses, who take human form and disport themselves with men. The bear is still looked upon as half-human, and many stories relate how the bear-goddess, as a beautiful woman, had amours with men. On the other hand the god of mountains is a bear, who takes a man's form. On one occasion he visited a woman, and the child of their union became a mighty hunter, from whom many Ainos still trace their descent.[3]

[1] Gill, p. 77. *Cf.* Clarke, p. 68, for a Maori parallel.

[2] Bérenger-Féraud, *Contes*, No. 8.

[3] Chamberlain, p. 45; Batchelor, p. 8. *Cf.* the bear-stories cited, *infra*, p. 270.

The curious fox-superstition which, originating in China, has become naturalised among Japanese and Ainos alike, must have originated from the belief in a divinity who was a fox. Its ramifications are various; suffice it to say here that, with all three races no story is commoner than that of the fox who assumes the form of a very pretty girl and weds a man. In a Chinese version she dies, and all that remains is the dead body of a fox. Similar stories are found among the Eskimo, probably as a result of borrowing. Thus a lonely bachelor always found his house tidied up when he returned home. One day he suddenly entered; there was a strong smell, and he found a little woman working. She was a fox in disguise, and he married her. Later she ran away because the man's jealous cousin mentioned the tabued subject of fox's smell![1] Some African wife tabu stories are like this, but a Basuto tale affords an almost identical parallel. I have cited it in the chapter on Helpful Animals. Has it been separately evolved by Basutos and Eskimo, or have we here merely far-travelled variants of one large cycle, with similar details, *e.g.*, tidying up the hut in the man's absence?[2]

[1] Giles, i. 182. Hearn, *Unfamiliar Japan*, i., 312 *seq.*; Griffis, "Japanese Fox Myths" in *Lippincott's Magazine*, 1873; Chamberlain, p. 11 *seq.* Rink, p. 143.

[2] See p. 228. A Guiana tale contains the tidying-up incident, and is nearly parallel to these stories, but lacks the tabu incident. It is cited on p. 156. See also p. 261 for a Negro version. For the tidying-up incident, see the Khyoungtha tale on p. 292. The heroine emerges from a lamp. It also occurs in some of the Catskin and Cap o' Rushes tales, see Miss Cox's note in *Cinderella*, p. 488. There the heroine comes out usually to get food. She is hid in a box, candelabrum, etc., which the prince buys. *Cf.* the stories where a girl emerges from fruit, pp. 114, 129. In an Iroquois story a dead wife performs the same kind offices for her mourning husband.—E. Smith, "Myths of the Iroquois," in *Annual Report of Bureau of Ethnology*, 1882-83, p. 103. In a Melanesian story a man's blood, preserved in a bamboo, changes into a youth who comes out secretly and does the housework.—Codrington, p. 406.

In such a story there is no trace of hidden divinity in the beast-wife, nor does it usually appear in the folk-tale pure and simple. A common story in the East is that of the woman who, as a result of magical methods of causing fruitfulness, gives birth to an animal. In one version this animal is a monkey, in another a serpent. A princess falls in love with the animal and marries him. By day he is an animal, at night he removes his skin and becomes a man, and is made to retain this shape permanently by the skin being burned to ashes. This is a point to be borne in mind. Meanwhile, I cite two Red Indian tales. The first, from the Hareskin tribe, relates how a man disappeared from his wife's side by night; traces of reindeer tracks were seen in the snow next morning. Long after, his son saw a reindeer with a human head-dress. He killed it and brought it to his mother, who lay down beside the carcase, when it recovered life and became a man. The Dog-rib Indians tell how a woman lived with her brothers. A stranger came to their tent; they gave their sister to him for a wife. During the night a dog was heard where no dog should be, and the brothers threw missiles at it until they killed it, saying, "This dog, a man during the day, and married to our sister, changed himself into a dog." They drove their sister from the wigwam. She gave birth to six puppies, three of which remained dogs, but three turned to children who became the ancestors of the Dog-rib tribe.[1] We may note here, in connection with this and other tales cited in this chapter, that stories of women giving birth to animals are found all over the world. An Aino girl gave birth to a snake as the result of the sun's rays shining on her while she slept; the snake turned into a child. The Dyaks and Silakans will not kill the cobra because, long ago, one of their female ancestors brought forth twins, a boy and a

[1] Petitot, pp. 262, 311.

cobra. The cobra went to the forest, but told the mother to warn her children that if they were ever bitten by cobras they must remain for a day in the same place, and the venom would have no effect. This custom is still followed; probably the story is thus an ætiological myth. The boy met his cobra brother in the jungle and accidentally cut off his tail—hence all cobras have now a blunted tail. The Javans also think that a woman occasionally may give birth to a child and a crocodile, which is put into the river by the midwife, the twin and the family afterwards throwing food into the water for it to eat. In Eskimo stories women give birth to puppies, bears, etc., while in Scandinavian mythology two of the offspring of Loke and Angurboda were the Fenris wolf and the Midgard serpent. So Pasiphaë gave birth to the Minotaur, and Mugain, in Celtic mythology, to a lamb and a trout. The idea also occurs sporadically among civilised races of a superstitious cast of mind, aided probably by the knowledge of actual "monstrous births."[1]

Stories of canine descent are common among the American tribes, as well as among other races, while one people frequently taunts another with such an ancestry. Usually the dog does not change to a man, and one or two instances of this may fitly introduce a number of similar tales from a low level of culture, and representing the primitive phase of the Beauty and Beast cycle. The Red Indians say the first woman took a dog to mate, and that the different tribes are descended from her. This story

[1] Chamberlain, p. 43. St John, i. 196. Hawkesworth's *Voyages*, iii. 756. Rink, pp. 77, 412, 471. Thorpe, *N.M.*, ii. 59. *Cf.* Miss Cox's *Cinderella* for other examples, p. 488, and the suggested monstrous births in the Jealous Sisters cycle. For comparatively modern Scottish and New England cases, see Calderwood's *History*, vii. 164, and Drake's *New England Legends*, p. 39.

has spread to the Eskimo, who tell it both of Indians and Europeans. A woman had ten children by a dog. Five became *erkileks* or inlanders, the others she set afloat on a boat, which turned to a ship, and they themselves became Europeans. In the same way the Japanese say the Ainos are descended from a dog; while the Kalangs of Java hold that they themselves are descended from a princess and a dog, who, however, according to some versions, was a transformed chief.[1]

Sometimes, as in several stories already cited, the serpent is the animal mate. I shall refer first to a curious Basuto tale. An old woman found a girl deserted by her friends, and took her home, saying she would make a nice wife for her son. He was a serpent whom no one had ever seen outside his hut, but he had married all the girls of the tribe in succession, with fatal results to them, because he ate all the food. The girl was awakened every morning with a blow of the serpent's tail, and was then ordered to go and prepare his food. Tired of this treatment, she resolved on flight. The serpent pursued her, but the girl sang a charm which stayed him for a time. Then she resumed her flight, renewing the process whenever the serpent overtook her. At last she arrived at her father's village, and told her story. The people got ready for the serpent's arrival, and as soon as it appeared, Senkepeng sang her charm, and they then attacked it and slew it. Soon the serpent's mother arrived, and taking the dismembered body, burned it to ashes, which she wrapped in a skin and threw into a pond. Going thrice round the pond without saying a word, she caused her son to come to life again, and he emerged from the pond as a handsome youth,

[1] Liebrecht, p. 17 *seq.* Rink, p. 471; Nansen, *Eskimo Life*, pp. 71-7; Batchelor, 2nd ed., p. 6. *L'Anthropologie*, v. 345.

whom Senkepeng was quite content to marry.[1] Among the Dindje Indians it is told how the first man, Dindje, had two wives, one of whom would have nothing to say to him, and disappeared all day. He followed her and saw her enter a marsh, where a serpent twined itself round her. When she returned to the hut she had several children, whom she hid under a cover. Raising it, the man saw horrible little men-serpents, which he at once killed. Thereupon the woman left him, and he saw her no more. In a Chippewaya variant the woman has several serpent lovers, whom her husband entices out of the hollow trunk where they live, by counterfeiting her voice; then he kills them and forces his wife to eat them. She goes to the tree and bewails them; her husband cuts off her head, which pursues him, and when he pulverises it with a hatchet, it turns into a cloud of gnats and mosquitoes.[2] Such a story is found in both the American continents. Among the Eskimo it is related that a girl left home, and long after returned, carrying her offspring in her hood. It was a horrible reptile, and her husband, she said, was not of human race, and none must seek him. Her brothers, however, followed her to her house, killed the offspring, and then waited till the monster came. It was a hideous reptile, which twined itself

[1] Jacottet, p. 214. In other versions the ashes are put in a vase of clay, which is given to Senkepeng to keep. Sometime after she uncovers it, and a youth steps out of it. *Cf.* a similar incident in South African tales on p. 129. In another tale which is a variant of the Kafir story of Sikulume, Sekholomi is pursued by the old cannibal hags. He evades them, but falls into a marsh, where a snake twines itself round him, and whenever he gets free goes after him. But, arrived at his village, his friends kill it. An old woman rushes up and declares they have killed her son. She had caused him to assume serpent shape in order to kill the hero.—*Ibid.*, p. 263.

[2] Petitot, pp. 16, 407. Leland cites similar tales, *A.L.*, p. 274 *seq.* See Bonifacius, *Historia Ludicra*, for the classical instances of women with serpent lovers. For the carcase turning to insects, see p. 25.

round their sister's body till only her hair-tuft was visible. They rushed in and slew it. Their sister returned home again, but was noticed to be carrying a little black worm in her hand. It grew bigger every day, and at last she went off with it and was never recovered again.[1] In the Guiana version already cited the snake is a divinity, and has sometimes a human form; so in the Zuni and New Guinea variants the story has been refined. The versions of this tale would require a volume to themselves; we should note in connection with it the many myths of monarchical, tribal, or racial descent from a serpent conceived of as a divinity, as in the Carib instance. In classical times several clans and individuals were said to be of serpent descent, while one of the "symbols" of the mysteries of Sabazios which entered Greece from Phrygia was a serpent, under which form Zeus had an amour with Core, who gave birth to Sabazios. Naga, or serpent tribes, are common enough in India, while the rulers of the different races of Central America boasted of descent from a snake. The same myth occurs in the Pacific Islands, as, *e.g.*, among the people of Hudson's Island, who say that earth as a man mated with a serpent, and their progeny formed the first race of men. In Japanese mythology the Sea-deity's daughter, mated to a god, assumes her true shape after giving birth to a son, viz., that of a dragon, while in one folk-tale a robber is introduced whose mother had been a serpent.[2]

To return to the Red Indian tales, an Algonquin

[1] Rink, p. 186.

[2] Clement, *Protrep.*, cap. 2. Maclennan, pp. 526-7. Turner, p. 288. Chamberlain, *Ko-ji-ki*, p. 127; Griffis, p. 126. Alexander and Augustus were said to have claimed birth from serpents who were deities in disguise. The mother of the latter could never get rid of the spots which the serpent had left on her body, like the Kafir maiden, see p. 340. Suetonius, *Augustus*, xciv. Alexander's mother was given to the cult of Sabazios, and played with serpents in the delirium of worship. In this we may perhaps see the germ of the legend.

legend tells how a maiden sleeping by the lake side was stealthily approached by a serpent and had no power to resist his embrace, afterwards giving birth to twelve serpents, which were killed by the father of the Thunder-god, who then married her. So in a Bengal story a mighty serpent, after slaughtering a whole family, takes off the beautiful daughter to his watery tank, where of course she is rescued by a prince. In Russia, too, the serpent is entirely evil, and frequently carries off mortal maidens, and from their union heroes or sometimes monsters are born.[1]

The Senegambian crocodile story is paralleled by Basuto, Malagasy, and Dyak tales. In the Basuto tale the body of a girl killed by her mother is restored by a crocodile, who takes her to live with him in the lake. Malagasy folk-lore is full of disgusting stories of amours carried on between men and female caimans, and between women and male caimans. The female saurians carry on their claws rings given them by their mortal lovers. So, Herodotus tells us, the people of Thebes decorated their sacred crocodiles with earrings and bracelets. The Dyak story relates how a man made friends with a crocodile, finding him so agreeable that he gave him his daughter in marriage. Then the crocodile began to devour everything, and would do no work, until the exasperated villagers hacked him to pieces. That is why no self-respecting crocodile will so much as look at a Dyak now.[2]

Other animals are equally fond of human lovers. Two Eskimo girls had respectively an eagle and a whale for husbands by their own desire, while on the

[1] Leland, *A.L.*, p. 266. Day, p. 18. Ralston, *Songs of the Russian People*, p. 173. These tales form a link with those of the cycle in which a maiden is sacrificed to a serpent or dragon. See chap. xiv.

[2] Casalis, p. 360. Ferrand, pp. iv-v, 180. Herodotus, ii. 69. Ling Roth, i. 348.

other side of the world the people of New Guinea have a curious story of a great eagle who married a woman and had a son by her. She returned to her village and was followed to her father's house by a snake, who claimed her. Eventually she escaped, and the snake was slain by the eagle.[1] Among the Negroes of the Fjort beast-marriage is a common incident; animals have every human quality, and frequently have human brides. In one story the leopard is married to four princesses. He has a bet with the antelope, which necessitates the latter becoming a dog, and in this form he is ill-used by all his wives. The dog then turned into a beautiful maiden, of whom the leopard became amorous. She begged him to kill his wives; he did so. Then she took out his claws, teeth, etc., and turned herself into the antelope, when the leopard died of chagrin. An elephant, say the Hottentots, was married to a woman. Her brothers came to rescue her; she hid them. During the night she escaped with them, carrying off all the elephant's possessions. In the morning he pursued them; they found their way blocked by a cliff, which, by the woman's magic, opened to let them pass and closed after them. The elephant repeated the same charm and opened the cliff, but, alas, it closed upon him. In a Red Indian story cited by Schoolcraft, a chief bade his lovely daughter never leave their lodge. She disobeyed, and was carried off, like Europa, by the king of the buffaloes, and was only recovered after great difficulty by her father Among the Negroes of the Slave Coast a tortoise is said to have asked a girl in marriage. He was refused, but succeeded in making the girl eat some fruit. This placed her in his power. In vain he was offered

[1] Rink, p. 126. Romilly, p. 107. The snake incident in this story —the snake occupying the hut of the woman's father—affords a curious parallel to the similar incidents in the other New Guinea and the Zuni tales cited above.

equivalent value; each time he refused it, and at last the girl had to be given up to him.[1]

This story, save that the tortoise is a tortoise and not an enchanted prince, is almost exactly parallel to a cycle of stories—that of the Frog Bridegroom, which has close connection again with that of Beauty and the Beast. It will suffice to cite the Magyar version with references to parallels. Three sisters went in succession to draw water from a well in which lived a huge frog. He would not allow them to do so unless they gave him a ring. The youngest alone consented, and obtained the water. At night the frog crawled up to the door and called for admission. When he was brought in he asked for food, wine, and a bed. These were given him, but still he was not satisfied; he must have one of the daughters. The two eldest were offered and refused; Betsie, the youngest, alone would content him, and she was put in his bed lest he should cast a spell on the house. Next morning the frog had turned into a handsome youth, who asked for Betsie's hand, and (suspicious circumstance) "they hastened to celebrate the wedding, so that christening might not follow it too soon." With various settings this story is told in Germany, Norway, England, the Scottish Highlands and Lowlands, and India. Though the Negro tortoise tale proves that it is a natural and necessary growth out of a primitive stage of thought, Gubernatis and Max Müller have attempted to explain it in the usual mythological fashion.[2]

[1] Dennet, p. 71, *cf.* p. 74, story of a divinity's daughter for whose hand all the animals contest. Bleek, p. 61. Schoolcraft, ii. 34. *Mélusine*, ii. 123. A story from Lorraine has some likeness to these tales. A leopard carried off a princess. Nothing could kill him but partridge's eggs thrown at his forehead. These were obtained by a prince, who had determined to rescue her. Cosquin, ii. 128.

[2] Jones, p. 224. Grimm, *The Frog Prince.* Dasent, p. 23. Halliwell, p. 51. Campbell, ii. 141. Chambers, p. 46. Miss Stokes, xvi. Gubernatis, *Z.M.*, s.v. Frog. Max Müller, *Chips*, ii. 249.

Another well-defined cycle of stories has a wide distribution: we shall call it that of the Bear's Son. Taking what are clearly the later forms first, in them a bear steals a woman who is about to have a child. He is born in the den, and partakes of the bear nature. When he has grown old enough and has learned his mother's story, he kills the bear. In this form the story is found in Picardy, Lusatia, Lorraine, and the Tyrol. Similarly the Japanese hero, Kintaro, was the son of a woman who lived in a mountain cave, on roots and herbs. Her son played with wild beasts, but especially the bear, with whom he used to wrestle, and he eventually became a mighty warrior.[1] But another group, with German, Croatian, and Flemish variants, tells how a child was stolen by a bear and followed by his mother, whom the bear detained to assist in the household; the boy was suckled by the bear, and hence obtained his bear nature.[2] The third and most primitive group has in Europe, Russian, Swedish, Serbian, German, Italian, Spanish, and Celtic variants.[3] A Syriac version may be cited. While pursuing an ox, a woman was captured by a bear, who carried her to a cave and there made her his wife. Soon after she escaped and returned home, where she gave birth to a son, half-bear, half-man.[4] The Avars of the Caucasus also have the story, and a curious version is current in Dardistan. The bear carried off a little girl, and kept her shut up. When she became a woman, he fell in love with her. Unfortunately she died in giving birth to a child.[5] A close parallel to the European

[1] *Mélusine*, 1877, p. 110. Haupt und Schmaler, ii. 169. Cosquin, i. 6. Schneller, p. 189. Griffis, p. 121.

[2] Proehle, ii. 29. *Archiv. für Slav. Phil.*, v. 31. Deulin, ii. 1.

[3] Gubernatis, *Z.M.*, ii. 117. Thorpe, ii. 59. Vouk, No. 1. Colshorn, No. 5. Visentini, No. 32. *Rondallayre*, 1st ser. 11.

[4] Prym and Socin, ii. 258.

[5] Schiefner, No. 2. Leitner, iii. 12.

versions is found among the Micmac Indians, but though it is thoroughly Indianised it has no doubt been obtained from French Canadian sources. Zuni and Cree tales contain such an incident, quite possibly original. In the former a bear steals a boy, but lets him go when he hears that his mother is very pretty. "Come at night," said the boy, "and I will introduce you to my mother"; however, when the bear arrived he shot him dead. The Cree version tells how a girl, lost in the forest, was met by a bear who offered her the alternative of marriage or instant death. She chose the former, and became mother of two bears, whom she afterwards changed into men.[1] What is to be noted is that all these versions of this incident (except the Cree story) are introductory to the adventures of the son, who has the wisdom of man and the strength of a bear, and of the companions whom he afterwards falls in with.[2] Such a story as that of the Crees, which might have been invented in many places, has formed the basis of the later and more complex tale that has gone the round of the world.

I shall refer later, in dealing with "the Youngest Son," to a group of stories which introduce quite another episode of beast-marriage. A father bids his sons give his daughters in marriage to whomsoever will ask them first. These turn out to be animals, wolf, vulture, and falcon, or the king of birds and the king of beasts, but in all stories of the group they have a human form as well. These creatures later

[1] *Micmac*, Leland, *A.L.*, p. 311. *Zuni*, Cushing, p. 92. *Cree*, Petitot, p. 460. There were many mediæval versions of this story; *cf.* Saxo Grammaticus, bk. x. The story of Valentine and Orson resembles the second group.

[2] These adventures are, rescue of three princesses, whom the companions go off with, abandoning the hero; his rescue by friendly animals (p. 352); and revenge on the companions. Many stories with these adventures lack the bear incident, and the hero is simply a strong man.

help the youngest son in his difficulties.[1] But, in a more primitive type, omitting the youngest son incidents, the husbands are animals and nothing more. Three girls, in a Norse tale, were bent on getting married even if they only got a fox, a goat, or a squirrel for husbands. Thereupon these very animals appeared. The girl's father went to visit them; the squirrel dived into the river and brought up a trout. The father imitated the squirrel on his return home, but was drowned. An Eskimo parallel may have been derived from this story. A girl married a huge man, and when her father went to see her, the man went outside the hut. Presently, the father saw a cormorant dive and bring up a sea-scorpion, which the man presently brought in (*i.e.*, he and the cormorant were one). Here, too, the father, imitating his action, was drowned.[2]

Thus all the cycles of tales into which Beast-marriage enters have been traced back to their evidently primitive forms, in which the bridegroom (or bride) is an animal.[3] This is also true of the Swan-maiden cycle discussed so minutely by Mr Hartland, who cites several tales of this primitive type, and suggests a totem origin for the whole group.[4] Swan-maiden and seal woman can only resume their animal form by donning the feather or fur dress which their lover has got possession of. But in the earlier and more primitive versions the woman is an animal which has the power of self-transformation.

Analysing these several story-groups and their

[1] There are Greek (Hahn, No. 25), Sicilian (Gonzenbach, No. 29), Tuscan (Pitré, No. 11), Breton (Sébillot, No. 16), Portuguese (Coelho, No. 16), and Russian (Ralston, p. 85) variants.

[2] Nansen, *Eskimo Life*, p. 295. Rink, p. 119.

[3] For another cycle in which Beast-marriage, pure and simple, is the earliest form, see p. 233.

[4] *Science of Fairy Tales*, p. 331.

respective types, we shall find several definite stages. The latest form, as in the Beauty and Beast and Frog cycles, presents us with a hero transformed by enchantment into a beast, and saved by the devotion of the human lover. The incident of enchantment, though itself primitive, has here been made use of to give an earlier story greater dramatic interest at a time when beast-marriage, pure and simple, had become a revolting conception. The beast-mother in the Cinderella tales is an example of this. At first a beast, she becomes later a woman transformed by sorcery. But ere this stage was reached a large body of stories existed, in which the hero had himself the power of transformation, appearing now as an animal, now as a man, but invariably going a-wooing in animal form. Of these stories there are several distinct types. (1) Those in which the wooer is one of a class of animals who are men and women in their native element, as in the Russian tale (p. 257), or *vice versâ*, as in the Senegambian story (p. 260). Next (2) come stories in which a divinity assumes animal form; Zuni, Guiana, Hervey Island, and Aino instances have been cited, as well as the classical myths.[1] (3) In other cases it is not said that the animal is a divinity, but he becomes, through union with a human lover, the ancestor of a tribe, as in the Dog-rib Indian tale (p. 262). At the next, and in my opinion the primitive stage, there is no trace of transformation, and the lover is a beast and nothing more, as in the third type of the Bear's Son cycle, and in Eskimo, Red Indian, Dyak, and New Guinea stories.[2]

It is obvious that stories of beast-marriage presuppose that animistic stage of thought (already referred to), through which all races have passed, in which there is no real distinction between human and animal personality; in which, in effect, animals

[1] See pp. 258-60. [2] See p. 262.

are simply men in fur and feather. This condition of thought is put tersely in a Micmac tale, which opens by saying: "In the beginning of things, men were as animals and animals as men. How this was no one knows."[1] But they owe their origin more immediately to totemism, that primitive institution in which an animal (or plant) is believed to have been the common ancestor of the animals of that species, and of a clan or tribal sept of men who call themselves after the animal, and never kill or eat it.[2] That animal ancestor tends to become a divinity, or to be merged into a god, who thereafter bears some trace of the animal merged into him. We are not concerned here with the origin of totemism, which is still to seek. But it is clear that, once started, the idea of an animal ancestor must inevitably have given rise to myths explaining how this could be. Such myths, in effect, do exist wherever totemism can be traced. They explain the descent of the clan from the animal by telling how in the far-off past an animal took a human mate, and how their offspring were the fathers of the clan. Some of the folk-tales already referred to have been found to state this; they are really as much myths as they are *Märchen.* Other clear examples of such myths may here be given. The owl clan among the Nisqas of British Columbia are descended from a maiden who was carrried off by an owl.[3] Among the Mongols, with whom totemism as an institution has passed away, some myths still exist, explaining how an animal came to be an ancestor of men. Thus, after a great war, only one Mongol woman survived. She met a bull, who begot of her two daughters, from whom the present

[1] Leland, *A.L.*, p. 31.

[2] See Frazer, *Totemism*, and the chapter on "Animal-worship and Totemism" in my *Religion, Its Origin and Forms.*

[3] See p. 183, where I have shown how totem beliefs may have suggested beast-marriage.

race is descended. So the Kirghiz are descended from a thief and a pig: hence they do not eat pig's flesh. Mr Batchelor tells us that a young Aino informed him (and himself thoroughly believed) that the father of his great-great-grandfather was either brought up by an eagle or born of one. This, he thinks, is a clear relic of clan totemism. Similarly, the Bakalai explain their totem clans by saying that once a woman gave birth to a calf, another to a boar, a third to a monkey, and so on: from these they are descended, just as the snake clan of the Moquis claim descent from a woman who had snake children.[1]

With the decline of totemism proper, the mythic animal ancestor often becomes a man or woman who is only at times an animal. Among the Tchippewayas it is told how the first man caught a partridge, which changed into a woman, whom he married. They were the ancestors of the tribe. The Tshi-speaking peoples of the Gold Coast have many animal clans, most of which explain their origin in the same way. Thus a man caught a fish called an *appei*, which begged him to spare her and she would become his wife. He replaced the fish in the water, and on returning home found there a young woman, who told him she was the fish, and that now neither they nor any of their descendants (the *appei* clan) must ever eat *appei*, or they would all go into the sea.[2] This myth, so curiously like European mermaid and seal-wife tales, throws some light on their origin. To this we shall return in a later chapter. Mythic explanations of such a puzzling

[1] *F.L.J.*, iv. 21, 25. Tibetans have a curious story about the earliest inhabitants of Tibet being descended from the monkey king (an incarnate god) and a female hobgoblin. The former supplied all their good, the latter all their bad qualities. Rockhill, *Notes on Eth. of Tibet*, p. 677. Batchelor, 2nd ed., p. 8. Du Chaillu, *Equatorial Africa*, p. 308. Bourke, *Snake Dance of Moquis*, p. 177.

[2] Petitot, p. 347. Ellis, *Tshi-Speaking Peoples*, p. 211.

institution as totemism are demanded by man's speculative mind, and we see that, once invented, they take more and more the folk-tale form as time goes on. Sometimes, however, the mythic animal descent is explained differently. Thus Ellice Island was first inhabited by the porcupine fish, whose descendants were changed into men and women. Or sometimes, conversely, as in a Samoan myth, a woman gives birth to animals and men, who are then related.[1] Again, when the totem-ancestor is worshipped as a divinity, the myth will make the animal spouse a god, and as it becomes a folk-tale he will be described as a god who can assume either human or animal form, as in the Carib story. The change is sometimes effected by donning or doffing a skin or feather dress, and, once this is destroyed, the animal nature is for ever gone—an idea which explains the corresponding incident in folk-tales.

Such animistic and totemistic beliefs have survived in the East in actual beast and tree marriages for a symbolical or ceremonial purpose. Thus, in the Punjab, if a man has lost several wives in succession, he is married to a bird which he has induced a woman to adopt as her daughter. He then divorces it, and marries the woman. Or a man will marry a tree in such a case, before the actual marriage; the tree is then supposed to die in place of the woman. Other cases are known with the same purpose of diverting some particular ill-luck to the tree or animal bride. Again, many tribes in India observe the custom of marrying both bride and bridegroom to trees as a preliminary ceremony, perhaps to divert evil influences to them, or possibly with a view to obtaining fertility from the trees.[2] Whatever be the *rationale* of such rites, it is clear that they never could have arisen except on the assumption that tree or

[1] Turner, pp. 8, 281.

[2] Crooke, ii. 115 *seq.* Crawley, p. 341.

animal was perfectly akin to man, and that actual unions had once been common.

We must not, however, overlook a more realistic origin for such folk-tales besides man's myth-making fancy. In many stories an animal forcibly abducts a woman, as in a Chinese tale, in which it is related that a monkey stole a man's wife, carrying her off to his den, where the husband subsequently overcame him. The possibility of such an abduction is believed in by many African tribes and by the Dyaks, who have stories of girls being carried off by baboons and orang-outangs, and indeed, the possibility of such a thing, though questioned, has not been refuted.[1] Again, the actual occurrence of unnatural lusts among races of a low type must be taken into account.[2] It

[1] Du Chaillu, *Equatorial Africa*, p. 61. Reade, pp. 218, 421. St John, i. 22. *Cf.* Pausanias, *Attic.*, p. 21. Burton, *Ar. Nights*, vol. x., thinks such cases proved. Among the Kafirs, however, baboons are supposed to protect women from lions. Legend relates how a woman, lost in the forest, found herself surrounded by them when the lions roared. They took her to a safe place, and fed her with milk and corn. After returning to her friends, she often went to join the baboons, whose language she had learnt. At her death the baboons howled and mourned many days. Rev. J. Macdonald, *Folk-lore*, iii. 355.

[2] *Cf.* the Biblical references. Pliny, *H.N.*, viii. 42. Virgil, *Eclog.*, iii. 8. Mackenzie, *Voyages*, p. xcvii. Kraft-Ebing, *Pscyopathie-sexualis*, p. 135. In connection with these realistic explanations the stories of children suckled by animals, so common in folk-lore (*cf.* Knowles, p. 29; Cushing, p. 132; Hartland, i. 48; Schiefner, No. 12; Dozon, p. 101; Grinnell, p. 190), and of which the classic example is that of Romulus and Remus, are doubtless due to the conceptions of animism and totemism. But in many actual cases, chiefly from India, they have been traced to the fact that semi-idiot children, brutalised, and with animal appetites, are often believed to have lived among animals, or to have been stolen by them. This is a quite natural deduction among people with whom the distinction between animal and human is far from being clear. See an interesting paper by Dr Tylor in *Anth. Rev.*, 1863, i. 21, "Wild Men and Beast Children." *Cf.* Tylor, *P.C.*, i. 282. Conversely, in some folk-tales, women suckle animals, as is actually done by Aino women (Batchelor, p. 484, 2nd ed., *J.A.I.*, ii. 252), and Tasmanian women (Roth, p. 162).

is enough to refer to these things without discussing them further.

The horror at such unions which many of our folk-tales reveal—even those arising among totemic peoples, may be explained from man's innate sense of their very strangeness, even when most claiming animal kinship. For, to return to the Micmac tale already referred to, though men were as animals and animals as men, "yet even as men there was always something which showed what they were," a statement which might be paralleled by those of other races. Ideas which are irrational to us were no doubt quite rational to the men among whom they arose, else they could never have arisen, yet even then there was clearly a sense in which they were regarded as irrational. Granting, too, such realistic explanations as those just referred to, the sense of horror exhibited in the tales is again made clear. It was that sense of horror which gradually evolved the artistic form of the tales in which the hero was a man with the power of self-transformation, or changed by enchantment to an animal shape from which the magic power of love set him free.

It may also be practised by Eskimo wives. *Cf.* stories in which a woman nurses a puppy, or gives birth on two occasions to twins, one of which is a bear, which she brings up with the others.—Rink, pp. 77, 412.

CHAPTER X

CANNIBALISM: ODYSSEUS AND THE CYCLOPS

No aspect of savage life awakes a stronger horror in civilised man than does cannibalism. Yet it was practised by our remote ancestors, though as various lines of evidence, among others that of folk-tales, show, there came a time when they cast it off, and looked upon those more savage races who still practised it, with the same horror as do we.

Cannibalism occurs as a central episode in several folk-tale cycles, of which there are two main types, the first involving man-eating by ogre, witch, or demon, *i.e.*, a being of another race; the second describing it as a perverted taste on the part of some members of a race no longer given to the practice. In the former type there are several cycles, of which the first to be cited is the well-known episode of Odysseus' adventure with Polyphemus — an old Greek *Märchen* taken over bodily into the epic.[1] It has many parallels; the Basque version affords a convenient example. The ogre is called a Tartaro; he is a shepherd, and also a hunter of men. One day, having caught a young man in his snare, he dragged him to his den. The hero knew that his custom was to eat a sheep, take a snooze, and then devour his

[1] In the same way the folk-episode of a one-eyed cannibal giant slain by a hero, who blinds him, has been taken up into the Celtic Fionn cycle.—J. G. Campbell, *The Fians*, p. 159 *seq.*

man. As soon as the Tartaro began to snore, he took a spit, heated it red-hot, and drove it into the giant's one and only eye. The Tartaro let out his sheep one by one, thinking that the hero would not escape him, but he took the precaution of putting the ram's bell round his neck and dressing himself in the skin of the sheep just killed, walking on all fours to the door. There he was met by the ogre's mother, who gave him a ring, which at once began to cry out, "Thou hast me here." The blind Tartaro started off in pursuit, and was just on the point of seizing the hero, when he cut off his finger and threw both it and the tell-tale ring away.[1]

In a Sicilian version a monk is the hero; his comrade is eaten by the ogre in his cave, after which the hero blinds the ogre and escapes in sheep's clothing. Greek stories tell of the Drakos, a dull giant with one eye, cannibalistic tastes, and a penchant for pretty princesses. The hero of "The Quest of the Golden Wand" acts precisely as did Odysseus, puts out the Drakos' eye, and escapes by hanging on to the woolly ram. Probably this tale has existed unaltered in Greece from pre-Homeric times, and represents the traditional form of the story incorporated in the epic.[2] In German and Celtic variants the hero is a robber, who tells the story as one of the most remarkable things which ever happened to him. Here the giant has two eyes; the robber pretends to heal one of them, which is sore, but covers the whole one with stuff which makes it as bad as the other, and then escapes like Odysseus. The Polyphemus incident also enters into the Celtic Fionn cycle; a one-eyed giant, who steals a king's children, is killed by Fionn piercing his eye with an arrow. Such a cannibal giant, or (in one episode) a smith, is the topic of other incidents of the cycle. The tale has thus been embodied here in the

[1] Webster, p. 4.

[2] Crane, p. 89. Henderson, p. 195. Garnett, ii. 80.

same way as the story of Odysseus and the giant was in the Greek epic. A Russian version replaces the ogre by a one-eyed witch, who devours a tailor, but has her eye put out by his friend the smith.[1]

Even closer to the Greek version are those found among the Lapps and Kirghiz. Castrén heard the whole story, with local adaptations, among the Lapps; while, with the Kirghiz, the part of Cyclops is played by a giant called Alp, and that of Odysseus by another giant called Batur-Khan. Sinbad the Sailor's adventure with the cannibal is of the same type, and has Indian and Persian parallels, the hero of a tale in the Bahár-i-Dánush escaping from a cannibalistic demon who lived on sheep and men, by driving a red-hot spike through his eye. These are literary adaptations of popular tales.[2] A story identical with the Homeric Polyphemus episode has been heard in East Africa from the lips of a native who had never been out of the country, while a Red Indian version introduces a serpent instead of an ogre. In this Red Indian story, Glooskap, the hero of many Passamaquoddy stories, has an enemy—a man who takes serpent form. He catches a servant of Glooskap's, and sends him to look for a long straight stick on which to roast him. Glooskap meets him, bids him take a crooked stick, and instructs him further. The boy told the serpent that he would straighten the stick by

[1] Grimm, "The Robber and his Sons." Campbell, i. 112. The talking ring occurs in both, and also in the Russian tale. In the German version the ogre has two sore eyes, both destroyed under pretence of being healed. *Cf.* an Esthonian tale, where the devil is outwitted in the same way by a blacksmith called Myself, and then says "Myself did it," and receives no sympathy. For the Fionn cycle, see Campbell, *The Fians*, p. 207. Ralston, p. 178.

[2] Spencer, *Descriptive Sociology*, v. 40. Another Lapp variant is given in Kirby, ii. 38. Scott, iii. 288. Webster, p. 2, cites an English story of a giant who ground men's bones for bread, and was blinded by a lad kept as a prisoner.

putting it in the fire. Anxious to see results, the serpent peered into the flame, when the boy thrust the red-hot stick into his eye and blinded him, after which Glooskap slew him.[1]

Finally, we may cite a Melanesian story which bears much resemblance in some respects to our European tales. A man-eater called Taso killed a woman, but did not eat her because she was about to give birth to twins. These posthumous babies were later discovered by their uncle Qatu, and, after they had grown up, set out to revenge themselves on Taso. A banana-tree was to be their life-token. They came to Taso's abode, and were received by his mother; she went out to call her son, and, in her absence, they made stones red-hot for his reception. On his arrival in expectation of a meal, he was greeted with the stones, which felled him, and, as he lay on the ground, the twins clubbed him to death. Then they despatched his mother also.[2]

The next two cycles describe how a cannibal monster is outwitted (1) by being thrown into his own oven; (2) by having his own wife or child served up or destroyed by the hero. A typical instance of the former is Grimm's *Hansel and Grethel.* Sent from home, they wander to the house of a repulsive witch in the depths of the forest, who entices and eats children. She fattens Hansel for her intended meal, and every day comes to see how plump he is getting; poor Grethel is fed on scraps. The day comes when he is to be eaten, and Grethel is sent to make the preparations. The witch tells her to creep into the oven and see if it is hot enough. "I do not know how to do it; how shall I get in?" "You stupid goose," answers the hag, "see, I could even get in myself,"

[1] Leland, *A.L.*, p. 104.

[2] This story is current in Aurora, a district where the existence of the cannibalistic feasts of other islands is doubtful. Codrington, pp. 344, 398.

and pushes her head in. This is the moment Grethel has waited for, and giving the witch a push she bolts the oven door, and "left the ungodly witch to burn in the ashes."

A Magyar variant is of the Cinderella type. Three daughters are driven from home by their stepmother; the two eldest treat the youngest harshly. In the course of their wanderings they come to a palace where dwells a one-eyed giantess, who says, "What a fine roast you will make." She is propitiated, and hides them, but her husband discovers the girls on his return. They are sent to cook and bake; the youngest has the oven to heat. She bids the giant see if it is hot enough, and, of course, pushes him in, and he is burnt to a cinder. His wife is then knocked on the head, and the girls take possession of the castle.[1] Besides Portuguese, Lapp, Norse, Indian, and Persian variants, there is a Kafir parallel to this cycle. In it Sikulume and his friends fall into the clutches of a cannibal, who invites others to the meal. Meanwhile the boys escape, and the guests devour the cannibal himself in disgust at losing their banquet. Sikulume determines to return and get a magic bird which he has forgotten. On the way an old woman gives him some fat, which he must put on a stone if the cannibals pursue him. In the sequel he does so, and the cannibals fight for the stone. One of them swallows it, and he is eaten by his companions, who again give chase; but the boys are hid by an old man in a hut, which is really a stone transformed by him, and which to the pursuers seems a stone and nothing more.[2]

We come now to stories in which the ogre's wife or child is served up as a meal, or destroyed by the

[1] Jones, p. 144.

[2] *Portuguese F.T.;* Friis; Dasent; Miss Frere; Payne, vi. 112; Theal, p. 74 *seq.* A Swahili tale, cited on p. 412 *infra*, has some likeness to the Kafir story.

cunning of his original victim. The Celtic story of Maol a Chliobain may be taken as typical of those in which both the children and the wife come to grief. Three daughters are sent to seek their fortune; the youngest is ill-treated by her sisters. They come to a giant's house, and go to bed with his three daughters. During the night the giant is thirsty, and bids his ghillie fetch him the blood of one of the girls. Maol hears all this, and exchanges the horse-hair necklets which she and her sisters wear for the amber ornaments of the giant's daughters. The ghillie kills one; the giant asks for more, and still for more, until all three are killed. Maol and her sisters now escape, and reach a farmer's house, where there are three sons. These will be given in marriage to the three girls if Maol will bring the giant's treasures. On her third visit to the giant's house she was caught and put in a bag. By her craft she induced the giant's mother to take her place. When the giant returned, he beat the sack and its contents till his mother was killed. In a Swedish variant the youngest of three sons has to obtain the giant's treasures. He is caught and fattened; the giant bids his wife make ready the oven. When she asks the boy to go into it, he falls off, and begs her to show him the way, when he pushes her in and closes the door. An Italian version is more gruesome. The hero, Thirteenth, having roasted the ogress, serves up her limbs for the table, but puts her head and trunk in bed, attaching a string to her chin and hiding himself under the bed. The ogre arrives with his guests, and asks her if she will dine. She shakes her head for answer. The meal proceeds, till one of the guests discovers the truth; in the subsequent confusion Thirteenth escapes. In the Basque story of Malbrouk, the hero is caught stealing the giant's violin. While the giant is absent he offers to help his wife in chopping wood, but takes the opportunity of killing her and boiling her in the

cauldron prepared for himself, where the giant finds her.[1]

In Russian tales cannibalism is usually practised by a female ogre called a Baba Yaga, or by a witch who strongly resembles her. A boy having been caught by a witch, is shown by her daughter how to sit on the shovel. He at once pushes her into the oven. The witch is absent seeking guests, and, on her return with her party, eats her own daughter. The boy interrupts the feast by telling her what she has done, and then escapes her revenge with the help of some friendly birds. In the Norse version, the hag's daughter does not know how to cook Buttercup, the hero, and is shown the way by him to her cost. He then lays her head in bed, makes broth with the body, and kills the parents while they are at their horrible meal. Passing over a Greek version, where the hero bakes the daughter of a Lamia, we come to a Mongol story. Tardanek was caught by a seven-headed monster, and put in a game-bag. He induced the monster's children to take his place, and they were afterwards cooked by him. The same story is also current as far away as Madagascar. Takinga fell into the hands of Trimobe the ogre, and told him that when he was cooked his body would change into that of two men. The ogre

[1] Campbell, i. 258. This is the Scots story of Mally Whuppie, which is discussed on p. 354. Thorpe, *Y.T.S.*, p. 137; Crane, p. 90; Webster, p. 86. A Japanese tale has a curious resemblance to these. A badger is caught by an old man and tied to a tree, because it eats the food of his pet hare. His wife is induced to release it, is killed by the badger, and her body made into broth. Then he assumes her form, and the husband eats the mess, when the badger reveals the truth and flees. In the sequel he is killed by the hare.—Mitford, i. 255. This crafty incident occurs in other connections in several tales. In a Dyak story a turtle caught in a trap induces a monkey to take its place by telling him how delightful it is to be thus tied up.—Ling Roth, i. 343. *Cf.* a Yao (East African) tale, where a boy, shut up by a cannibal wizard in a bag, escapes and fills it with snakes, which sting the wizard to death.—Steere, *J.A.I.*, i. 151.

ordered his two sons to put Takinga into boiling water; Takinga bade them see first if the water was boiling, and while they were peering into the pot, tipped them into it. They were boiled alive, and the unsuspecting ogre ate them both. Later, he discovered Takinga, but, in attempting to catch him, was killed.[1]

The formula of the series of thefts from an ogre, occurring in the Gaelic version, will be met with again in some of the versions of the Youngest Son cycle, as well as in the English story of Jack and the Beanstalk. An American-Indian tale bears a close resemblance to all alike, but, while it has doubtless been suggested by some of them, it has become a true native folk-tale. A little boy, in spite of warnings, is caught by a witch, whose magic ball, which he pursues, leads him to her hut in the forest. This is an incident which, in various shapes, is a common folk-tale formula. She treats him kindly, however, and he alone of all the children she has ever captured is able to undergo the ordeal of fasting, by which he obtains magic powers from the spirits. He is now sent to steal the gold of the Bad One, and a little bridge which, lengthening out to any size when desired, enables this ogre to cross the widest rivers or seas. The witch gives him a ball, which, tied to his leg, will carry him through all dangers; hence he is called Ball-carrier. Arrived at the Bad One's house, he steals the treasures, but is pulled from his hiding-place by the ogre, who orders him to be fattened up for a meal. The ogre's servant prepared the kettle and popped poor Ball-carrier into it, but by his magic power the water only appeared to boil, and he was unhurt. Then, having induced the woman to come and taste the broth in the kettle, he tipped it over, and the water, boiling in reality, scalded her to

[1] Ralston, p. 165. Dasent, p. 117. Hahn, No. 3. Lang, *Perrault*, lxix. Ferrand, p. 69.

death. Snatching up the treasures, he fled. Meanwhile, Bad One having returned to the feast with a crowd of water-demons, found his servant dead, and set off in pursuit of the boy, whom he discovered on the other side of the river. The ogre offered to become his servant; the boy agreed, and threw the magic bridge across the water. But when Bad One was half-way across, the hero wished it to become small, and the ogre, falling into the water, was drowned. After many subsequent adventures of a highly original nature, Ball-carrier dies, but the witch resuscitates him, and buries the gold in the earth, where men who dig hard sometimes find it. Here, as so often, the incident of a folk-tale, whether borrowed or original, becomes a mythical explanation of natural phenomena.[1]

Analogous to this group, though the act of cannibalism is unwitting, is the Icelandic tale of the prince who fell in love with a king's daughter and wished to marry her. Her stepmother was a troll in disguise, and substituted her own daughter, who became the prince's wife. When he discovered the imposture, he killed her, salted her flesh, and sent it as a gift to her mother, who ate it greedily. There

[1] *Bureau of Ethnology*, 14*th Annual Report*, p. 223. Stealing of children by witches is not an uncommon incident in Red Indian tales. In another, a witch steals Iowi's (the turtle-dove's) child, and pulling his legs and arms out, stretches him to a man's form, and marries him. He still retains a child's soul. After a long time his mother, with the help of Kwina (the eagle), discovered his whereabouts, and though the witch hid him and herself in the paunch of a mountain-sheep, hunger compelled her to go and seek for food, and in her absence Kwina fled with him. The witch went off to her grandfather, Togoa, (the rattlesnake) for help, but hearing Kwina coming, she crept into Togoa's stomach. He turned very sick, and crept out of his skin, leaving his granddaughter inside. She repeated Togoa's calls in mockery, for he could not find her. Hence all witches now live in snake-skins, and delight in repeating the words of all passers-by. Which is the origin of the echo!—*Bureau of Eth. Report*, i. 45. See a further discussion of Ball-carrier on p. 461 *infra*.

are Sicilian variants of this tale, with the additional horror of the queen's finding her daughter's head at the foot of the barrel when her meal is finished. Some ancient Greek myths or sagas contain something very like this incident. Thyestes, having seduced his brother's wife, had two children by her, whom his brother served up to him in a ghastly banquet; while the same punishment was meted out to Tereus for having debauched his sister-in-law Philomela—Itys, his son by Procne, being slain by the sisters and eaten by his father. Thyestes' father, Pelops, had himself been served up by his father to the gods, but the only one who ate of him was Demeter. He was restored to life, and she gave him an ivory arm in place of the one she had eaten. Such tales grew up in a cannibal age.[1]

In another series of tales the cannibal is not always an ogre, but an ordinary human being *of another tribe.* Sometimes the story concerns a man or woman who falls into the hands of such a tribe; sometimes he or she is married to a cannibal. Both types of this series, however, have parallels, in which the cannibal is a semi-divine or superhuman being.

A Kafir story may be cited first. Two orphans, Demane and Demazana, went to live in a cave. Demane warned his sister not to roast meat in his absence, lest the cannibals should smell it out. Disregarding this injunction, Demazana was captured and carried off by a cannibal, but, having dropped ashes as they went along, gave a clue to her brother, which he followed up. Arrived at the cannibal's hut he asked for a drink, and while the man-eater went to get it he took his sister out of the sack and filled it with a swarm of bees. In the sequel the cannibal was stung by the bees, and having rushed out of the

[1] Cosquin, i. 39, who also refers to an Annamite tale. Powell and Magnusson, p. 235. *Cf.* Miss Cox, p. 478. Hyginus, xlv., lxxxiii. *Cf.* Cronus devouring his own children.

hut, fell into a pond, where he became a tree-stump. The orphans took possession of his wealth as the hero possesses himself of the ogre's riches in European folk-tales.[1] Cannibalism of a very gruesome type occurs in Eskimo tales, but is always spoken of as practised by strange tribes living far from ordinary people, by a hag, or by an ogre. Of several men living together, all disappeared but two brothers. One of these arrived at a place where many people were assembled. They offered him food in which he discovered a human hand; he would not touch it, and was at once attacked, but could not be overcome. Next year his brother arrived with many of his friends, and destroyed all the cannibals who had been the murderers of the men who disappeared. Giviok, in another tale, is offered human fat by a hideous hag and her daughter. He refuses it, and at the same time discovers many heads in the hut, and presently makes good his escape. A cannibal ogre is slain by the hero of another story, and eaten unawares by his invisible friends, who are also destroyed by the hero's amulet. Man-eating giants, whose exploits are like those of the ogres of our tales, are believed in by the Karens, while a hairy giant with one eye and cannibalistic tastes is known to Aino folk-lore. He was killed at last by a brave hunter, who shot an arrow into his eye—his one vital part—and afterwards burned his body. From it came all the mosquitoes and flies in the country.[2] The Chinese have a story of a merchant wrecked on a distant island, where he was discovered by hideous men who lived in caves, and devoured raw human flesh. They were about to eat him, when he offered them cooked food from his wallet.

[1] Theal, p. 111. For a Basuto variant, see Jacottet, p. 69.

[2] The tribes of the north-west coast of America have a tale like this in its ending. An ogress who ate children was pushed into the fire by some of them, and her ashes turned into mosquitoes.—Dorman, p. 244. *Cf.* p. 25 *supra.*

They ate it with great gusto, and spared the man, who continued on the island until his escape years after. Among the American-Indians cannibalism is imputed to strange tribes or evil sorcerers of an ogreish aspect, or to demons of a horrible kind. In a Six Nation legend, the Holder of the Heavens destroys a powerful tribe of giants, ravenous cannibals who overran the country, by leading them into a hollow place, where they were overwhelmed with rocks. In a Zuni tale a maiden is attacked in a cave by a cannibal demon, who is slain by the War-gods. Such tales are common among all the tribes. So in modern Greek tales the *Lamiæ*, like their classical prototype, are witch-like hags, living in desert places and possessed by a strong liking for human flesh, especially that of babies. The "devis" of Georgian folk-tales correspond to these *Lamiæ*, and form, perhaps, a connecting link with the Russian "Baba Yaga" already described. Among the Japanese there is a strong belief in *oni*, horrible demons which steal and eat men, or carry off lovely girls to wait upon them. Tradition relates how the hero Raiko and his band of youths destroyed them after drugging their *saki*, setting free the damsels who were forced to carry them their banquet of human flesh and wine served in human skulls. In Wales certain fairies are fond of the flesh of infants, as is shown by the tale of Canrig the Stumpy, who was discovered eating a baby by a man sent to destroy her. Possibly such fairies are the lineal descendants of an earlier cannibalistic race. Returning to Greek folk-lore, we find that the lords of Hades are believed to have banquets at which the dead are eaten; while the Cretans have tales of an underground race of monstrous blacks who are man-eaters. Going to the other side of the world, a similar belief is found among the Polynesians, who say that Miru, Queen of Hades, a hag with one breast, one arm, and one

leg, cooks and eats all those who die a natural death. Some parts of Hades are also inhabited by man-eating spirits who entrap mortals, probably without the knowledge of Miru. Legend also tells of a sky-demon, Amai-te-rangi, who, having taken a fancy to human flesh, was overcome by the great hero, Ngaru.[1]

I turn now to the next group, in which a man or woman marries one of another race, with cannibal tastes. An excellent example occurs in a Norse tale. A huntsman obtained as a wife one of the Huldre folk, a supernatural race who sometimes make alliances with mankind. One night something of her savage nature returned to her, and she said of their child, "What a capital roast it would make for supper." In India, too, the cannibalistic wife is usually of demoniac nature, a man-eating rakshasi, hideous in appearance, and cruel by nature, but capable of assuming the most lovely forms and winning ways. A poor Brahman, wandering in search of food, arrived at a palace where a beautiful woman welcomed him as her long-lost husband. The Brahman was amazed, the lady was clearly romancing; but sacrificing discretion to comfort he agreed with her. She was a rakshasi who had devoured first the king of that region, then the queen, the royal family, and all their subjects. At the end of a week the rakshasi begged him to bring his other wife. Rakshasi and true wife each bore him a son, the one called Sahasra Dal, the other Champa Dal. The Brahman at length discovered the

[1] Rink, pp. 159, 165, 286 *et passim*. *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, xxxiv. 228. Batchelor, p. 73. Giles, i. 397. Leland, *A.L.*, pp. 73, 104, 288. Cushing, p. 297; *cf.* Petitot, p. 211 *seq.* Bent, pp. 98, 388. Griffis, pp. 178, 192. Wardrop, p. 56. Rhys, ii. 673. Bent, p. 213; *F.L.J.*, ii. 237. Gill, pp. 154 *et passim*, 234; *cf.* p. 109, and Clarke, p. 39, for tales of the hero Tane or Maui and his divine cannibalistic grandmother, Kui the Blind.

rakshasi eating an antelope raw, and charged her with her demoniac nature. She vowed revenge, and next day assuming her true form, devoured him limb by limb, and next made a meal of his wife. Her own son, horrified, cut off her head, and he and Champa Dal wandered off together. Such stories are common all over India. In Siam such a being is called a yak (ogress). A king with twelve wives, all sisters, married a yak, who disclosed her true nature when, pretending to be ill, she asked (as the one remedy) the eyes of twelve persons all born of the same mother. The sisters alone answered to this description, and lost their eyes. A story current among the Khyoungtha, a wild tribe of South-East India, suggests that such tales may have been borrowed from the aborigines. A rakus (ogre) having taken the form of a handsome man, won the daughter of the king of Arracan. On their way to his home, he devoured his guard of honour one by one. His wife discovered him, rushed back to camp, and prayed that her lamp might open and hide her. This it did just as the rakus came up to devour his wife. He threw the lamp into the river, where a prince found it, and, undeterred by thoughts of bigamy, the princess came out of it and married him.[1]

At a lower level of civilisation the cannibalistic spouse is an ordinary human being. The Kafirs have a story of a man who married a woman of a different tribe, who were man-eaters. They had two children, whom their mother devoured when they came home from their grandfather's hut, where they had been living. Of several such tales current among the Eskimo, we may cite the following. A girl married a man from a distance. Long after, her brothers went to visit her, and were well-treated by her husband, who set a tub of berries and blubber

[1] Thorpe, ii. 15. Day, p. 64; *cf.* p. 138 *supra*. *Asiatic Researches*, xx. 345. Lewin, p. 140.

before them. But suddenly they discovered a human hand in it, and cried out that they did not eat such food. They noticed their sister and her children eating it. "Hast thou also turned cannibal?" they enquired. "Yes, this nasty fellow has made me one." In the sequel the brother-in-law assisted them to escape from the cannibal village. Another story tells how a cannibal husband used to fatten his wives and eat them, but was finally discovered and killed by his last wife. Among the Mbamba of Angola it is told how a wife escaped from her cannibalistic husband, delaying his pursuit by throwing down millet, sesamum, and eleusine. He stopped to pick them up, and thus gaining time she reached her father's house in safety. We return to the demoniac husband in a Malagasy story. Two sisters were married to Tsangarira, one of a class of monsters who fatten their wives and then devour them. His true nature was revealed by their slave, and they fled. Tsangarira pursued, but was delayed by the slave playing a tambourine, which forced him to dance. Later he was burned alive by his wives.[1]

Such stories as these may have suggested some versions of the Bluebeard cycle, as in the Greek variant, where the wife opening the forbidden chamber sees her husband, as an ogre, devouring a corpse. She herself would have been killed and eaten had she not fled.[2] Other Bluebeard stories also suggest the cannibalistic husband, who kills his wife because she will not eat the heart of his former wife.[3]

The second type of cannibalistic tales contains many examples of a perverted taste on the part of

[1] Theal, p. 128; Rink, pp. 106, 128; Chatelain, p. 99; Ferrand, p. 119.

[2] Legrand, p. 115.

[3] Garnett, ii. 99. *Cf.* a Basque story, in which Bluebeard punishes his wife by shutting her in a dungeon and feeding her with human flesh.—Webster, p. 173.

members of a race who have abandoned the practice. There are two well-marked story cycles which exhibit this reversion to the tastes of the stone age. Of the first of these a Russian story may be cited as typical. A girl born of ordinary parents becomes very strong, and begins to eat everything. Ivan, her brother, leaves home and lives with the Sun's sister, but after some time returns, and finds that his sister has devoured everyone. She, however, disarms his fears and goes to get him food. A mouse warns him that she is sharpening her teeth in order to make a meal of him. Ivan takes flight, pursued by his sister, but in the sequel he is saved from her clutches. Such a cannibalistic girl is a recognised type of witch in Russian folk-belief. In the Serbian variant the girl gets iron teeth from a mouse, kills her mother, and prepares to eat her, when she is killed by the dog of her youngest brother. A similar witch is believed in by the Tuscans. When young she was very good, but gradually her conduct roused suspicion, and the daughter of the house in which she lived watched her. She was found plotting with a man to bewitch this maiden, and on hearing this the latter screamed. That instant the man changed to a black dog, and carried off the witch, who is now known as Bergoia, the spirit of thunder and lightning. The "strigla" of Greek folk-lore is of the same type, and in a Syriote story appears as a princess, who devours her father and all his subjects, but is eventually destroyed by her brother, aided by a mouse, as in the Russian story.[1] The trolls of Icelandic folk-lore are frequently cannibals: one troll story has affinities, however, with those just cited. A troll of mild temper has a daughter of such curious appetites that her mother has to provide human flesh for her every Christmas,

[1] The Lamiæ of ancient and modern Greek folk-lore were fond of eating children. Their prototype, Lamia, became a child-eating monster as a result of Herê's jealousy.

and steals human beings for that purpose; while, in another tale, a farmer's daughter becomes a cannibal troll, eating up all the people of the district till she is destroyed by a brave young man. Outside European folk-lore a similar belief is entertained in Ceylon, where certain demons are born of human parents, whom they leave shortly after birth, first trying to work their demoniac powers on them. From Samoa comes a story of a king's wife who became wild; horns grew from her head, and she ate up all her husband's subjects. Trying to get hold of her son, she jumped into the water, and, as a result of the immersion, her horns broke off and her perverted tastes left her. She is now the evening star. In some Eskimo tales we have a woman giving birth to a monster which puts to death all in the house, save a boy and girl who run away. The monster is usually, however, the revenger of some act of cruelty. We may add here, for the sake of comparison, an ancient Greek story, preserved by Athenæus, of Cambleta, King of the Lydians, who was a great glutton, and who one night cut his wife to pieces and ate her. Next morning he found her hand in his mouth, and at once killed himself.[1]

The second cycle is that of the unnatural mother, who kills her child and sends it cooked for her husband's dinner. We cite the Magyar version. A poor man had a wife and two children. While he was ploughing, his wife killed one of them, stewed him in cabbage, and sent the mess to her husband by her little girl. The husband found the dish

[1] Ralston, p. 170. Mijatovich, p. 255. Leland, *E.R.R.*, p. 113. Hahn, ii. 283, *cf. F.L.J.*, ii. 239. *Journal Royal Asiatic Soc.*, Ceylon Branch, 1865-66, p. 17. Turner, p. 260. Rink, p. 258. Athenæus, lib. x. cap. iii. In many tales of Slavonic origin, Russian, Greek, Albanian, Bulgarian, Magyar, etc., the Sun is a cannibal. *Cf.* Dozon, p. xxiii.; Jones, p. 96. Hahn, No. 10. Bent, p. 57, cites a story in which he eats his relations if his food is not ready in the evening.

agreeable, but the girl suspected what it was, and hid the bones in a tree. They turned into a bird, which sang—

> "My mother killed me,
> My father ate me,
> My sister gathered up my bones.
> She wrapped them in clean white linen,
> She placed them in a hollow tree,
> And now, behold, I'm a young crow."

As a reward for singing this song, various people gave the bird a cloak, a stick, and a millstone. With these he flew home and sang his song there. The mother was terrified, and sent the girl to drive the bird away. To her he gave the cloak. Next the father went out, and was given the stick, which just suited him, as he was getting old. Lastly the woman went out, and the millstone came crashing down on her head, killing her on the spot as a reward for her evil deeds.[1]

This is, of course, Grimm's story of the Juniper-tree, made famous by Goethe's placing the words of the bird's song in Margaret's mouth. In this, as in most other versions, the woman's vile act is explained by the fact of her being the boy's stepmother, jealous of his extraordinary beauty, which her daughter does not share. The story had great popularity, and there are Scots, English, Swedish, and Breton versions, while a Malagasy tale has a curious resemblance to it. A father kills his daughter and cooks her body, telling his wife it is lamb's flesh, and bidding her ask guests to the feast. She knows that it is her child, and preserves the bones which grow once more into the girl. Then she kills her husband, and sends his flesh cooked to his relations, who eat it unconsciously.[2] Cannibalism is not attributed to the murderer in

[1] Jones, p. 298.

[2] Douglas, p. 5. Henderson, p. 314. Hofberg, *Svenska Folksägnen.* Sebillot, p. 223. *F.L.J.*, i. 273.

these stories, but the ghastly meal prepared for the unconscious parent proves that she is at least not far removed from the anthropophagous stage. In the chapter on Helpful Animals reference has already been made to certain versions of the Cinderella story, where the mother of the girl is changed to a beast, slain, and eaten. But in some Greek as well as Dalmatian versions of the story, which are unique, the two jealous sisters kill their mother and eat her, the youngest refusing to share in the meal, but collecting the bones (as advised beforehand), which turn into gold and jewels.[1] The cannibalism of the daughters is of a repulsive type, but it is difficult to say whether it is natural to them, or an example of a perverted taste, suddenly acquired through their jealous passions, and, therefore, analogous to the incident of the Juniper-tree cycle of tales.

The same incident of cannibalism as a perverted taste occurs sporadically in folk-tales from all parts of the world. In a Red Indian tale a woman eats the corpses of the slain, and is never hungry again because she has eaten too much human flesh; Raja Siung, in a Malay story, has a boy slain daily for dinner, because he had been given the heart of a boy to eat by a wicked servant, and found it so good that he could not refrain his desires; while in Mongol and Aino tales a jealous second wife demands the heart of the first wife's child as the only remedy for her pretended illness.[2] Most curious of all in this connection are certain tales of the Australians, themselves a cannibal people, in which aggravated cannibalism on the part of certain persons is put down to perverted taste. Thus Mullyan, the eagle-

[1] Garnett, ii. 112; Miss Cox, p. 416. In a Portuguese Cinderella story the starving sisters eat each other.—Coelho, p. 75.

[2] Petitot, p. 160. Skeat, p. 59. Miss Busk, p. 71. Chamberlain, p. 48. *Cf.* the Indian rakshasi tales already cited, where the demon demands the eye of each queen.

hawk, lives apart from the other blacks, because he is a cannibal, and eats them, until the friends of his victims put him to death. A similar story is told of an old woman, Bougoodoogahdah, whose infantile name is not in keeping with her character; and of Piggiebillah, the porcupine, who, when he got old, loved the flesh of men, and enticed young blacks to his camp, where he killed and ate them, until the blacks put him to death.[1]

Lastly, there are tales in which cannibalism is resorted to for want of food. The Greek islet of Phlebas is haunted by the ghosts of seamen who had there lived on each other till only their captain remained. Seven queens in an Indian tale, driven out by the rakshasi wife, live on the children whom six of them give birth to, like the women who appealed to Solomon. In a Kafir story a woman, in time of famine, becomes a cannibal and eats all the people of the village in which she has taken refuge; while the chief of a Fjort story, asked by his starving people to provide them with food, gives them his own son to eat. They refuse it, because he was "one of our family," but send the meat to the chiefs of neighbouring tribes.[2]

The incidents of cannibalism in folk-tales are reflections of a custom which it is most likely all races practised at some stage of their history. Of all the reasons which have been assigned for the origin of the practice, famine is the most probable. Men were driven to eat each other out of necessity. The custom once begun, many races found it difficult to give it up, even when food was plentiful and easily

[1] Mrs Parker, 1st ser., pp. 62, 90; 2nd ser., p. 39; *cf.* p. 15.

[2] *F.L.J.*, iv. 251. Day, p. 118. Theal, p. 115. Dennett, p. 12. The heroes of Scots ballad and tradition, Lord Soulis and Melville of Glenbervie, are said to have been sodden and eaten by those who rushed off, like Becket's murderers, to fulfil the king's outspoken wish. —See Scott's *Minstrelsy*, p. 462.

obtained. On the other hand, it continued as an occasional custom for other reasons. It was believed that by eating any part of a man, the qualities of that man would pass over to the eater. This practice is also connected with that of ritual cannibalism. For the same reason cannibalism occurs with a medical aspect down to very late times, part of the body being eaten as possessed of curative virtues. Again, cannibalism survives with a legal aspect; the criminal being eaten by way of indignity or revenge, while the dead enemy was frequently treated in the same way. It is found, too, that some tribes practise cannibalism occasionally (1) as a filial act — the family eating the dead father, or (2) in order to keep down the population. This is endophagy, as opposed to exophagy — the commoner form; for while all cannibalistic races have no scruples about eating men outside the kin, most of them have strong objections to eating those of their own kin, on the same principle by which the totem animal is not eaten by the men of its clan. The evidence for earlier cannibalism among races which abhor it occurs in legends pointing to the practice, or to myths of culture-heroes who taught the people to give it up.[1] Many races at a low level of civilisation have been known to give up cannibalism of their own accord.

The circumstances of the cannibalistic incident in folk-tales require explanation. Taking the first type of cannibalistic episodes, we find that man-eating is practised by an ogre, demon, or witch (the cycles of the Cyclops and of the ogre outwitted by being killed or made to eat some of his own family), or by members of another race who are feared, and who entrap unwary members of non-cannibalistic tribes, or, in some cases, marry them. Usually these

[1] The Ainos were so taught by the divine Aioina (Batchelor, p. 2), the Egyptians by Osiris (Diodorus, i. 14).

members of a hostile race have human traits, but sometimes they are more or less superhuman.

Generally speaking, the races which abandon cannibalism will be of a higher type, and they will begin to look with horror on races who still practise it and with whom they are in contact. When cannibalism was beginning to die out in the Marquesas Islands, one tribe reproached another with still keeping up the practice.[1] The feeling of horror would grow as time went on, and the cannibalistic race would gradually assume more barbarous and less human traits. Actual examples of this occur in plenty. Thus the people of Savage Island dread the Tongans traditionally as "man-eaters"; the Quissama tribe are dreaded by the other tribes in Angola for the same reason; the Eskimo always refer cannibalism to another race, viz., the Red Indians, whom they call Irtkily, cannibals with dogs' heads; the Dayaks of Jangkang are universally accused of cannibalism by their neighbours; one Indian tribe in Guiana is looked upon with traditional dread by the others for the same reason; the cannibalistic negroes of the Gold Coast are execrated by the men of Old Calabar, who have given up the practice; the Moors in Senegal believe that white men live on human flesh; and gipsies have been accused by Europeans of the same practice.[2] The last two instances prove that the accusation is not always a true one, but help to show that a strange race is regarded with suspicion, and easily charged with what is thought to be a most horrible crime. Thus the words Hun and Hungar became synonymous with ogre in Europe. Ogre itself is derived

[1] Letourneau, *Sociology*, p. 211.

[2] Turner, p. 305. *J.A.I.*, i. 187; *cf.* the Angola story cited above. Letourneau, p. 214; Rink, p. 45. St John, i. 123; *cf.* Ling Roth, ii. 217. Im Thurn, p. 420. *Anth. Rev.*, i. 48. Reade, p. 446. Groome, *In Gypsy Tents*, p. 243.

from Tartar invaders called "Oigour," or from "Ugri"; the Basque Tartaro is a Tartar; the ogre of French tales is sometimes called "Le Sarrasin"; the rakshasi of Eastern tales is a "rakus," raw-eater, and may be simply the cannibalistic aborigine transformed to a demon.[1] Races who ate their meat raw were regarded with horror by those who cooked their food, and were easily charged with cannibalism—a charge frequently brought by the Greeks against barbarians like the Germans—forgetting that their god Dionysus was himself called the "raw-eater"—and by the Vedic Hindus against the "goat-nosed" Turanians. Imaginative writers of classical times, rightly or wrongly, peopled unknown lands freely with

> "Cannibals that each other eat,
> The Anthropophagi, and men whose heads
> Do grow beneath their shoulders."

Among the Zulus the word *Amazimu* is synonymous with ogre; historically, the Amazimu were a tribe who adopted cannibalism and fled to the mountains, where they were exterminated. So the Weendijoes, or men returned to cannibalism, are feared in the Labrador and Ojibway districts.[2] Too often, without any basis in fact, cannibalism has been a charge easily brought against any body of men by their enemies. First the Jews, then the primitive Christians, were accused of it by the pagans; the Templars, at the time of their overthrow, were charged with it; and it has from mediæval times onward been repeatedly

[1] The Hungars of early mediæval times were reputed to drink the blood of their captives; so that in legend "hungar," corrupted to "ongar," signified a man- or child-eater.

[2] Casalis, *The Basutos*. Hind, *Explorations in Labrador*, i. 59. M. Jacottet (p. 246) says that the Basuto call all Kafir and Zulu tribes *Ma-Tebele*. One such tribe, whose chief steals a young girl, is described as having only one leg, one arm, one eye, and one ear. See *infra*, p. 302.

asserted popularly of the Jews. One of the commonest accusations against the persecuted Jews in Russia is that of ritual cannibalism.

It is in such a condition that our cannibalistic folk-tales must have arisen. The cannibal ogres, cyclops, giants, and rakshasis are personifications of the cannibal races of a lower civilisation, with features and traits exaggerated by horror and fear. The horror arose less from the fact of cannibalism than from the fact that the victims were stolen by men of another tribe or race. Women and children were frequently carried off; actual escapes of the kind described in the tales may occasionally have occurred; while the cannibal captor may have been overcome or outwitted in the same way as, with a sense of justice, the stories relate. Indeed, few incidents of folk-tales have greater *vraisemblance* than these cannibalistic episodes. Again, the stupidity and dullness of the ogre—invariable traits wherever he is met with—are precisely the characteristics ascribed to aboriginal races by their conquerors — men of brains and quicker wits but less bodily strength. The exaggerated traits are the additions made by the imagination as centuries rolled on and cannibalism became a thing of the past; actual human cannibals without exaggerated characteristics occur only in the folk-tales of lower tribes still exposed to the attacks of actual cannibal neighbours, as in the tale from Aurora, a probably non-cannibalistic region surrounded by a cannibal zone. In some cases we can almost see the process of exaggeration at work. In the Kafir tales cited the cannibals are ordinary men of another race, but occasionally they are described as having one leg longer than the other, while the shell and human-bone mounds of Guiana are ascribed by the modern population to a savage race, "of habits vile and low," who ate men.[1] Little is here

[1] Theal, p. 120; Brett, p. 34.

needed to convert these races into ogres and monsters.

A cannibal witch figures in many of the European cannibal episodes. Such stories suggest a different origin than those of ogres. They are in effect the dim memories of a time when ritual cannibalism was practised in Europe by the priestesses of the Earth-goddess, memories which also survived in the mediæval and later witch-trials, when spurious confessions of cannibalism were extorted from the witches—lineal descendants of pagan priestesses in an age when woman had a high place in the civilisation of the time. Human sacrifice and ritual cannibalism were then legal, and the priestess was held in high honour. With the introduction of Christianity the priestess became a witch, accused of stealing children in order to eat them in a ghastly meal.[1] A similar degradation sometimes happened even in the case of the goddess herself, the divinity becoming a demon. The Baba Yaga of Russian folk-lore is a distorted survival of the South German goddess Berctha, who is also conceived of as a fearful witch in her own country. She steals her victims, cooks and eats them, and in general is but little different from the ordinary witch of other parts of Europe.[2]

On the other hand, stories of cannibalistic demons may have arisen through the horror at human sacrifices to gods which resulted from the rise of Christianity, Buddhism, etc., with their purer worship. The gods were believed to eat the sacrifice. With the advent

[1] Pearson, ii. 21 *seq.* In most lands where cannibalism is commonly practised, the priest, medicine-man, or chief, receives the best portions. This explains some aspects of ritual cannibalism, where the priest eats part of the human sacrifice. A once common act of cannibalism is now restricted to the priest, whose right to the best portion is thus continued. *Cf.* some Red Indian tales, where cannibalism is attributed to medicine-men after the people themselves have given it up.—Leland, *A.L.*, pp. 41, 288.

[2] Ralston, *Songs of the Russian People*, p. 161.

of the higher religion they became demons who would only be satisfied with human flesh. The natural evolution of any one religion would also bring this about. The gods received human victims from worshippers who themselves ate men. At a higher stage cannibalism ceases, but the sacrifice is continued. Then it, too, comes to an end, but the memory of it remains, and men come to imagine that demons and not gods ate human victims. Even among the Polynesians, long before Christianity had appeared among them, and while they still believed that their gods feasted on the dead, myths about the gods, not unlike some of our European tales, had arisen. Miru, queen of Hades, sent her beautiful daughters to entrap the hero Ngaru. They brought him to Hades and bound him, offering him kava, with which Miru stupefied her victims. On him alone of mortals it had no effect. He saw the red-hot oven in which the victims were cooked, and asked Miru why it was being heated. "To cook you," was the hag's answer. But Ngaru reproached her, and said that her daughters had been kindly treated in his home. At these words the heavens became black, Ngaru put his foot on the oven, and rain fell in torrents, putting out the fire, and sweeping away Miru and her assistants. Then he escaped to the upper air. But Miru, being immortal, still keeps an oven blazing for all the dead. It is more than likely that, in the first instance, the custom of human sacrifice to the gods originated the belief that the dead are eaten by them.[1]

The stories of the second type arise from those occasional lapses into the customs of a savage past, of which the history of civilisation is so full. Madness and brutalised lust have frequently reintroduced cannibalism, while the horrors of famine have caused the worse horror of eating human flesh. The

[1] Gill, p. 229 *seq.*

evidence for both is copious enough, but here it had better remain unwritten. Suffice it to say that the realism of the folk-tales of cannibalism as a perverted taste, or through famine, comes short of the reality which that evidence contains.[1]

[1] Some of the incidents of folk-tale cannibalism are copied exactly and with a curious minuteness, from actual practice. Thus the ogre is described as sending round to invite guests, or distributing the food. This is actually done, *e.g.*, among the savage mountain tribes of Burmah, in New Guinea, the New Hebrides, etc. Lumholtz, p. 274; Romilly, p. 66; Turner, p. 313. The hero's having to prepare the oven is paralleled by actual practice in old New Zealand, where the victim had to collect wood for the fire and make ready the oven, Andree, *Die Anthropophagie*, p. 70. Among the Mesayas of the Amazon he had to gather fuel, and among the Tupis he had to light the fire (*Ibid.*, pp. 80, 87). In many of these cannibalistic tales the ogre, etc., smells out the concealed hero, and usually repeats some formula like—

> "Fee, fie, fo, fum,
> I smell the blood of some earthly one."

Not only does such a formula occur in Asiatic and European tales, it is found in stories of a concealed person all over the world—Zuni (Cushing, p. 214), Eskimo (Rink, p. 218), Maori (Clarke, p. 90), Zulu (Callaway, p. 49), and other African stories. Mr Lang (*Perrault*, cvii.) points out that, in the *Eumenides*, they smell out Orestes. It is obvious that while the close likeness of the formula might suggest borrowing, it really arises out of the "manner of primitive man," as of savages, viz., the extraordinarily keen sense of smell which they possess, and which we have lost.

CHAPTER XI

TABU IN FOLK-TALES

BLUEBEARD

PRIMITIVE and savage institutions are more complex than is generally supposed. Such things as religious mysteries, totemism, and the system of tabu, all point to methods of thought and reasoning, which, at such a stage, are surprising. In this chapter we shall take one of these institutions, that of tabu, and see how folk-tales have preserved memories of its sway in religion and social custom. The first set of tales may be called that of the Bluebeard or Forbidden Chamber cycle; the second, the Cupid and Psyche cycle.

1. *The Forbidden Chamber.*

The tales in this series fall into two classes; those in which a woman, and those in which a man, is possessed of the fatal curiosity. Both, in my opinion, have a similar origin.

The story of Bluebeard is familiar to everyone from childhood: there are versions of it in every European country, and only a few need be cited. They present these common features, that the former wives, by breaking the command, are put to death, while the last wife breaks it, and is about to be murdered when she is rescued, or having broken it, outwits her husband, and succeeds in punishing his

wickedness by death. We shall begin with a Basque version. A cobbler is too poor to feed his daughters, but meets with a gentleman who offers to take one for so much money. He goes off with the eldest to his palace and marries her, but soon after, having to go on a journey, he leaves her his keys, saying she may unlock every door but one. This door she does open, and there she sees a number of dead bodies. She swoons, and that moment her husband appears, consigns her to the dungeon, and feeds her on human flesh. He next obtains her sister, who meets with the same fate; but when he marries the youngest and discovers her disobedience, she attacks him with a sabre and puts him to death. Here the wives are only maltreated, but they are beheaded in an Esthonian tale, and the third is only saved in the nick of time by her page, who kills Bluebeard and marries the widow.[1] Another type is that of Grimm's *Feather-Bird.* The husband is a sorcerer, and shuts the first wife in a dungeon, because she has opened the chamber door and discovered a basin of blood within. He then abducts the second sister, who suffers like the other. The third is cautious, and discovers her sisters in the forbidden room without her husband's knowledge. She has withstood temptation: now she will be his bride. "Very well, but carry a sack of gold to my father first." She puts her sisters in the sack after giving them due instructions, and sends the sorcerer off. Then she sets an image of herself on the tower, covers herself with feathers, and escapes. When the bridegroom and his guests are assembled, her brothers arrive and put them all to death. In a Celtic variant the husband is a giant and kills the elder sisters, carries off all three (the youngest restores the others with a vessel of balsam) in sacks unwittingly, and is slain by the clever youngest sister; in the Norse version a troll is

[1] Webster, p. 173. Kirby, ii. 1.

the murderer; in an Italian it is the devil—he is mocked by all three wives, "and since that time has lost his taste for marrying." That is not surprising![1]

The Bluebeard type of story is curiously mingled in certain tales with another type—that of the Robber Bridegroom. A Suabian version is that a robber chief, pretending to be a great lord, married a miller's eldest daughter, whom he forbade ever to enter a certain room in his house, giving her an egg which she must always hold in her hand while he is from home. As soon as his back was turned she entered the room, and saw there a bloody corpse. In her horror she dropped the egg, and so her disobedience was discovered, and her husband killed her. Disguising himself, he obtained the second daughter, who shared the same fate. The third sister was more careful, and placed the egg in a safe place before opening the door. Then pretending to her outwitted husband that she had received a letter announcing her father's illness, she begged him to take her home. Arrived there, she at once delivered him up to justice. Soon after she fell into the hands of his gang, who would have put her to a fearful death had she not escaped by the aid of an old woman.[2]

In all these tales the husband is an evil being; the wives, though punished, are usually restored; and Bluebeard meets his reward in the end. But we now come to several stories in which the person who forbids is not evil, and the punishment on the tabu-breaker is evidently just. A Pisan tale may be taken as an example of this. A lady asked a woodman for

[1] Grimm, No. 46. Campbell, ii. 289. This is a variant of a story in which the husband is an enchanted horse, who, when his head is chopped off by the heroine, becomes a prince and marries her. *Cf.* the Norse and German tales cited below (p. 311). Thorpe, *Y.T.S.*, p. 288. Imbriani, p. 7.

[2] Meier, p. 134.

one of his daughters as a companion. This girl entered the forbidden chamber, where she saw a lady bathing and two girls reading. She hastily shut the door, but soon after was taxed with disobedience, confessed, and had her head cut off. So it happened to the second daughter, but the third lied, and was sent by the lady into the forest, where a prince met and married her. Later her two children disappeared in the strangest way, and she was put away as insane. Then the lady appeared, generously saved her, and restored her children.[1] In most of the variants there is only one daughter, and the lady is frequently the Virgin in disguise (Norse, Hessian, Lettish, Wallachian, Lorraine, and Wend stories),[2] or a mysterious woman who appears and asks to be the girl's godmother at her baptism (Czech, German, Tuscan), and who, curiously enough, is delivered from an enchantment by the girl's disobedience.[3] A Suabian tale has a black dwarf, to whom the girl is sold by her father (here the tabu is not to pluck roses from a certain rosebush); while in a Swedish story she is given to a man with a grey mantle, through an imprudent promise of her father's. As a rule, there is nothing unpleasant in the forbidden room, and in all the girl's children are mysteriously carried off by her former protectress, because she still persists in denial. Then her husband resolves to send her to the scaffold as a murderess (in the Norse version the Virgin has smeared her mouth with blood, and she is thought to be a cannibal). There the mysterious lady appears, the girl confesses, and she is at last saved, and her children are restored.[4]

[1] *F.L.R.*, i. 196.

[2] Dasent, p. 198. Grimm, No. 3. Leskien, p. 498. Schott, No. 2. Cosquin, ii. 43. Haupt und Schmaler, ii. 179.

[3] Waldau, p. 600. Ey, p. 176. Comparetti, No. 38.

[4] Meier, p. 36. Grimm, iii. 324. *Cf.* the mysterious disappearance of the children in the Husband and Wife tabu stories, p. 374 *infra*.

The stories in which a man breaks the command and yields to curiosity show also, though in a much less degree, different ways of looking at the result of the act of disobedience. In the great majority of these tales the opening of the forbidden door, though involving great danger, leads to good luck; in them the person who forbids the opening is evil. We shall look at some instances of this first. By far the largest group is that in which the forbidden chamber incident is followed by the flight of the hero on a magic steed, and the transformation of objects which impede the pursuer's flight. The hero is then chosen as the husband of a king's youngest child, while his two brothers-in-law take the credit of his cleverness and valour, until the king finds out the truth and gives him his fitting place. As told in the Tyrol, the story runs that a prince, driven from his kingdom, took service with a certain man, who told him to give meat to his mare and hay to his bear. Then, having forbidden him to enter a certain room, he went off on a journey. Reversing the order, the prince gave hay to the mare and meat to the bear, and, breaking the command, opened the door. Within, he saw a lake, in which he bathed, but when he came out the mare told him that his hair had been changed to gold. He was very much afraid, but the mare bade him take a comb, scissors, and a mirror, and get upon her back. At once she flew off like the wind, closely pursued by the mysterious man, whose progress was barred by the comb becoming a high hedge, the scissors a forest, and the mirror a lake. The sequel contains the prince's adventures as husband of a princess who falls in love with him in spite of his humble position, the fraud of his brothers-in-law, and his final acknowledgment.[1]

The introduction to this group of tales varies; sometimes the hero, like the Tyrolese prince, takes

[1] Schneller, No. 20.

service with the mysterious personage. This occurs in Norse, German, Roumanian, Esthonian, and Lapp tales.[1] Sometimes the hero is adopted, by a drakos in a Greek story, or by the queen of the Yakhs in a Cambodian tale, which has no forbidden chamber, but in which the hero, Chao Gnoh, is ordered not to go near golden and silver pools.[2] But in the greater number the hero has been promised to his master before birth—Greek, Albanian, Russian, Czech, Italian, Tyrolese, Austrian, Kamaon, and Swahili, though in some of these the usual sequel varies or is wanting.[3] But in nearly all occur the episodes of some part of the hero's body being changed to gold—the inevitable source of the discovery of his disobedience, and the flight on the magic horse. And as a rule, the magical objects which stay pursuit are found in the forbidden room. The Norse and German versions are interesting because in both the horse orders the hero to chop off its head, and when he does so it changes to a king (enchanted by the troll of the Norse story), or into an enchanted princess (German), who gives him a wand and bids him strike a certain tree with it when he is in need and she will appear to him. The Kumaun story presents an interesting variant. A yogi promised a childless king that each of his seven wives would have a son, provided that he agreed to give up one of them to his keeping. The son of the seventh was given to the yogi, who showed him all his riches, but forbade him to open a certain door. When the yogi had gone out he at

[1] Thorpe, *Y.T.S.*, p. 293 (Norse). *Ibid.*, p. 423 (German). *Roumanian F.T.* (hero takes service with fairies), p. 27. Kirby, i. 260. *Germania*, 1870, No. 6. In these two stories the usual sequel is lacking. For the Transformation episode, see p. 173 *supra*.

[2] Hahn, No. 45. Bastian, *Die Völker des Oestlichen Asiens*, iv. 350 (with complete identity with the European tales).

[3] Hahn, ii. 197. In the Swahili tale (Steere, p. 381) there is no command, but the hero's evident desire to hide his golden finger shows that it must have dropped out of the story.

once opened the door, and found so many human bones that he concluded the yogi must be an ogre. In this belief he was confirmed by the bones telling him he would soon join them, but, to avoid this, they advised him to ask the yogi to show him how to march round a cauldron of oil when he was bidden to do so, and while the yogi was giving the lesson, to cut off his head. By following this advice he escaped, and then restored the bones to life. Similar advice is given to the hero by a horse in the Swahili tale the demon of which is also a cannibal, so that these two tales represent a type of story approaching more nearly than the others of the group to those of the Bluebeard cycle.

A French story stands midway between this group and the next. Here it is a king who forbids his son to enter the room, where he finds a fountain which turns his finger, dress, and hair to gold. Then he flees off on his father's steed, Bayard, and the barrier transformations occur in the usual way.[1] But in the stories of the second group, though it is a father who gives the command to his son, the father loses what the chamber contains, and the son's course of action leads on to fortune for him. I cite the Servian version. A king captured a wild man, and shut him up in a room, forbidding anyone on pain of death to open the door and release him. The cell was under his son's room, and he, troubled by the noise, went down and released the wild man, who at once made off. The king would have killed his son, but the courtiers advised his banishment with a servant. This servant personates the hero, and at another king's court tries to get rid of him by having him sent to capture various animals. They run off whenever he approaches, and he is in despair, when the wild man covered with hair appears and assists him. Then he provides him with fine clothes and a

[1] Cosquin, i. 133.

horse, so that he is enabled to become the successful candidate for the king's daughter. Of this story there are Swedish (with a liberated dwarf), Norse, German, Polish, and Italian variants.[1] They are connected with another and more interesting group, as will be seen from the Russian variant. A prince, having married Marya Morevna, is forbidden by her to open a certain room in her absence. Curiosity gets the better of him, and in the room he sees Koshchei the Deathless in chains, who begs for water. As soon as the prince gives it, he bursts his chains, tells him he will never see his wife again, and rushes off. The sequel tells how the prince, after long search, discovered and saved his wife, but not till he had undergone terrible dangers. There is a Serbian variant, where the wife forbids her husband ever to go into the twelfth cellar. He opens it and sees a barrel bound with iron hoops, and from it a voice cries, "I am dying of thirst; please give me a drop of water." It contains a dragon, who, as he swallows the water, regains strength, bursts the barrel, and flees with the wife.[2] A Kashmir story may here be noted. A prince killed the jinn which destroyed his father, and shut up its head in one of the twelve thousand rooms of his palace, forbidding his mother to open it. When she unlocked it the head told her that the prince was a jinn, and "some day he will kill you as he killed me, your husband." To compass his destruction the head advised her to send her son for tiger's milk; he succeeded in the quest; then for a certain princess; again he was successful, and the

[1] Mijatovich, p. 180. Thorpe, *Y.T.S.*, p. 86. Asbjoernsen and Moe, ii. 80. Grimm, No. 136. Woycicki, iii. No. 5. Straparola, v., No. 1.

[2] Ralston, p. 85. *Cf.* the story of Fedor and Anastasia, where a snake from the forbidden chamber flees with the wife. Mr Ralston remarks on the fact that in Slavonic tales it is invariably the man who breaks the tabu. This is a peculiarity of many Eastern tales also, see *infra*. Mijatovich, p. 42. *Cf.* variant, p. 180.

truth was revealed.[1] This story is a somewhat curious version of that cycle in which a treacherous mother or sister or wife plots with some wicked being against the hero. Some examples of this group have been met with in discussing the Water of Life, and it should be noted that, in some of the variants, the woman finds this being in a chamber which the hero has told her not to open.[2]

"In Eastern fictions," as Mr Clouston points out, "the forbidden chamber does not generally contain anything horrifying to the person whose curiosity has been unable to resist the injunction."[3] They are, however, excellent examples of the fatal results of tabu-breaking by a man. Thus Saktideva, having married a genii called Vidhyadhari, is forbidden by her to mount a certain terrace. Regardless of her will, he ascends the terrace and sees there three doors of as many rooms in each of which lies a dead girl. Next he sees a lake with a horse on its bank. He mounts the horse, is thrown into the lake, and that instant finds himself back in his own country having lost everything. Again, in the *Hitopadesa* there is a similar incident. Kandarpaketu lived happily with the semi-divine queen of the golden city until, contrary to her desire, he touched the picture of a Vidhyadhari, which kicked him back instantaneously into his own country. But the classic example is that of the Third Calender in the *Arabian Nights*, who, by opening the golden door and mounting the winged steed, lost at once his eye, his forty charming

[1] Knowles, p. 2.

[2] See p. 58 *supra*. In a Swahili story the hero is advised by a monkey, who has helped him, to open a room in the house of his *fiancée's* father, the Shereef, as it will reveal a valuable treasure. Various ceremonies have to be gone through in the process; these in reality undo the enchantment with which the Shereef had changed a jinn into this monkey shape, and as soon as he recovers it he bolts with the girl. Steere, p. 175.

[3] *P.T. and F.*, i. 199.

companions, and the beautiful palace where he was a welcome guest. These Eastern stories are paralleled by incidents in Celtic romance. Oisin, having reached Tir na n'Og, the Land of Youth, was told by its queen never to stand on a certain stone. He did so, and saw his native land, and the sight filled him with irresistible longing to return to it.[1] The queen could not dissuade him, but warned him if he must go, never to let his bridle leave his hand, or, in another version, never to dismount. But all this was forgotten as soon as he came to Erin, and at once he was changed to a weary and helpless old man.[2] These stories form a connecting link between those of the Forbidden Chamber type and those in which the wife only stays with her husband so long as a certain tabu is not broken.

While the theme of the Forbidden Chamber stories is the moral one of the fatal effects of curiosity, we may go further and seek their origin in actual tabus of a religious nature governing either men or women, to break which usually resulted in death. This, or some other great evil, is the inevitable punishment for encroaching on sacred things. Thus

[1] *Cf.* a Russian story, where a man summons his friend from the grave, and when he appears asks to see the world of the dead. The dead man places a sod cut in the churchyard on the living man's head; then he sees the underworld. Ralston, p. 306; and see p. 103 *supra*. In many Celtic tales standing on a seer's foot enables anyone to see the fairy paradise, while contact with anyone gifted with second-sight imparts the vision for the time being to the non-gifted. There appears to be a substratum of truth in these ideas. Herr Parish, in his work on *Hallucinations*, p. 94, refers to a case of a woman seeing an apparition. Her husband saw nothing until she placed her hand on his shoulder. Some cases are also referred to by Gurney, *Phantasms of the Living*, ii. 189, who men ions the favourable results of contact in "thought-reading," which cannot be explained by "muscle-reading." Hallucinations are well-known to be infectious; are they also contagious?

[2] Somadeva, *Kathasaritsagara*, bk. v. ii. 166. Clouston, *Book of Sindibad*, p. 309. Scott, *Arab. Nights*, i. 222 *seq.* Joyce, *Old Celtic Romances*, p. 385.

among savages the sacred grove, the medicine-man's fetich hut, and all such places, must not be rashly approached, on pain of death. The Hebrew stories of the death of the men of Bethshemesh for looking into the Ark, and of Uzzah for touching it, are paralleled by what Pausanias says of the certain death which was meted out to those who entered the temple of Jupiter Lycæus, or of the petrifaction of the priestess who went secretly into Minerva's temple by night. In Egypt, too, the curious who entered certain sanctuaries saw such frightful phantasms that they died of fear.[1] Equally important is it, in connection with the tabu on sacred things, to remember that in many mythologies, Tongan, Red Indian, Cingalese, as well as Semitic, the eating of a forbidden sacred food first brought death into the world with all its woes, while the effects of breaking the sacred tabu are also pointed to in the story of Pandora opening the box and losing the blessings of life, or of Eurypylus struck with insanity for opening the sacred chest at Patræ.[2]

But more usually such tabus have a sexual import: women are forbidden to see the religious rites of men, and men those of women. Among the Australians no woman may witness the Bora or sacred mysteries of the men, on pain of death. Certain parts of the divine knowledge, if discovered by the women, would cause the world to perish; or, again, if a woman came to know them, her husband would be bound to put her to death. Even the totemic drawings on the rocks are tabu to women, as is the cave containing the sacred mysteries of the Arunta tribe; and the *turndun*, or bull-roarer, which summons men to the mysteries, must never be shown to a woman.

[1] 1 Sam. vi. 19. 2 Sam. vi. 6. *Cf.* Exod. xix. 21. Paus., viii. 5; ix. 34.

[2] Farrer, pp. 12, 14. Klemm, *Cultur.-Gesch.*, ii. 155. Genesis iii. Gardner, *Exploratio Evangelica*, p. 100.

If it is shown both the woman and the man who reveals it are put to death.[1] Generally speaking, this is true of all savage "mysteries" or secret societies, like that of the Areoi in Polynesia, which no woman can enter; or that which exists among the Shekani and Bakele in Africa for the worship of Mwetyi; or the mysteries of the Porro fraternity in the Timui district of West Africa, which are celebrated at night, all intruders being put to death or sold as slaves; or the mysteries of the Brazilian Indians, from which women are warned off by the playing of "jurupari pipes," the mere chance sight of which is punished with death.[2] In the same way, Plutarch relates that no woman might enter the temples of Hercules, while the tabu against women having to do with certain sacred things is equally illustrated by many Celtic legends about holy wells. Thus Boand, wife of Nechtan, was dismembered and drowned for intruding on the well in the green of Sid Nechtain, as was Sinend, daughter of Lodan, for seeking wisdom from Connla's well. In other stories, Irish, Welsh, Highland, the woman is drowned because she neglects or is too familiar with the holy well of which she has charge—a variation on the original theme.[3] Similarly, Vogul

[1] *J.A.I.*, ii. 27; xiii. 172; xxv. 311. Manning, *Report on Aust. Religion.* Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes*, p. 132; *Northern Tribes*, p. 500: "When the youth is initiated . . . he is told that on no account must he allow the women or children to see the bull-roarer, or else he will be killed, and his mother and sisters also." Howitt and Fison, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, p. 268.

[2] Ellis, i. 229 *seq.* Reville, *Rel. des non-civ.*, i. 110. Keane, *Man: Past and Present*, p. 50. Wallace, *Amazon*, p. 349.

[3] Wood Martin, *Faiths of Ireland*, ii. 27. Rhys, *Celtic Folk-Lore*, i. 390. Campbell, ii. 147. *Cf.* a Carib tale, in which a monkey caused a flood by lifting the cover off a mysterious tree-stump from which water flowed. Im Thurn, p. 379. In the Celtic tales some river or lake is formed through the overflowing of the well—Loch Ness, the Shannon, etc. Sacred springs in Ireland, as well as in the Peloponnesus, lost their virtues through being defiled by a woman. Even now women are not supposed to go near certain Irish wells, *e.g.*,

women must not approach idols or holy places, a prohibition which once also obtained among the Lapps, with the addition that a woman must never touch a wizard's drum; while certain sacrifices, as well as the grove tenanted by the spirit to whom they are made, are tabu to Votiak women.[1]

Contrariwise, men must not view the sacred rites of women. At the ceremonies performed at the initiation of girls in equatorial Africa no male is allowed to be present, and a native who had played the spy told Mr Winwood Reade that, if the women knew, they would drag him into the fetich hut and flog him till he died. Women who belong to the secret Njembe society forbid any male looking on at their rites, and Dr Nassau describes how two Europeans who played the spy were in danger of death, had they not had the punishment meted out to them by the tribunal commuted by a heavy ransom. Similar tabus against men exist at the initiation rites of girls in South Celebes, Cambodia, New Britain, and among the Kafirs.[2] Frequently religious or magical rites involve the nakedness of the women taking part in them, and, as in India, men are excluded, or, as on the Gold Coast, attacked and sent away. Such rites

that at Achill; if they do so, the well becomes full of blood. Wood Martin, *op. cit.*, pp. 30, 88. These Celtic tales are paralleled by one from Melanesia, in which an old woman keeps water in a leaf, forbidding her grandsons to go near the place. They disobeyed her, and in trying to shoot a lizard on the leaf, hit the latter, and caused the waters to burst forth. They covered the earth, which had hitherto been waterless, and thus the sea was formed. Codrington, p. 372. Wells in Kashmir, when looked at rashly, cause blindness. In one case this results from removing the stone cover, as the drowning does in the Celtic tales. Knowles, p. 328. *Cf.* the Transylvanian belief that it is dangerous to stare into a well, lest the "well-dame" be offended—Leland, *Gypsy Sorcery*, p. 137. In all such cases trespassing on sacred things or on the temple of deity—the spirit of the well, is clearly in question.

[1] Abercromby, i. 181-2.

[2] Reade, p. 246. Nassau, p. 261. Crawley, p. 297.

as these have given rise, as Mr Hartland shows, to the story of Lady Godiva and Peeping Tom.[1] Among the Greeks no man was allowed to take part in the rites of the Thesmophoria, just as men were excluded from the Roman ritual of the Bona Dea, worshipped at night by women. No man might land on the island at the mouth of the Loire, where Celtic women annually performed orgiastic rites to a goddess. A similar tabu existed in Christian times in connection with the shrine of St Bridget in Kildare, within whose brushwood fence no male might approach on pain of a miraculous vengeance. This had originated in the earlier ritual of the pagan goddess, whom the saint had replaced. In the same way witches objected to men being present at the Sabbat, which was nothing but a survival of earlier female orgiastic rites.[2]

To customs such as these may be traced the earliest type of our tabu stories, those in which a direct punishment overtakes the hero or heroine, but especially the latter, as in the group of which the Pisan story is a type. The Virgin who figures in so many tales of this group, doubtless represents an earlier pagan divinity, and the room which the girl may not open, her forbidden sanctuary. We already noted that in these stories the tabu-breaker finds nothing unpleasant in the room—just as she would find nothing unpleasant in the shrine. They would thus have been suggested when such a tabu no longer existed, by earlier tales dating from the time when it did exist and its nature was readily understood. The Eastern stories, in which a man breaks the tabu and is punished, have a less clear connection

[1] Ellis, *Tshi-Speaking Peoples*, p. 226. Hartland, *Science of Fairy Tales*, p. 84.

[2] Strabo, bk. iv. Giraldus Cambrensis, ii. 34. For a story of a man who went disguised to a Sabbat and was warned off by a friendly gipsy, see Leland, *Gypsy Sorcery*, p. 74.

with religious custom, though in them, as in the Celtic tales, it is a tabu set by semi-divine beings. They may, therefore, have been suggested by the tales of a disobedient and curious woman; and, indeed, I am inclined to think that throughout a woman was the tabu-breaker in all the earlier tales.

There come next the groups in which it is to the disadvantage of the owner of the room that the door should be opened, because it sets free a being who should be shut up. The first group, and possibly the more primitive, is that in which a treacherous woman opens the forbidden door and frees the ogre, giant, robber, etc., who proceeds to plot with her against the hero his captor, who is, as a result, put to death. The next group makes the imprisoned monster rush off with the heroine when the hero sets him free; while in the third (obscuring the disadvantage of the liberation to his captor) the captive monster ultimately benefits his liberator. What connection has the imprisoned monster with a religious tabu? At the stage to which these stories have developed it is difficult to trace the connection, but they are most easily explained as relics of earlier tales, in which it was shown that the owner of a fetich or a personal spirit incurred danger or loss if anyone intruded on the place where it was supposed to reside. Further proof of this is, of course, necessary, but it is at least illustrated by a Passamaquoddy story from Mr Leland's collection. A hunter had a small goblin on which his luck in hunting depended, and which he kept shut up in a box. But he had also a curious wife, who, in his absence, opened the box, when a hag made off with the goblin. Luck at once deserted the husband, and he returned to give his wife a beating, whereupon she jumped into the water and became a duck.[1] With this may be compared the

[1] Leland, *A.L.*, p. 300.

Kafir story of The Bird who made Milk, in which the magic bird, on which depends a man's wellbeing and which he keeps concealed, is lost through his children's discovering its hiding-place, and finally setting it free.[1] So in a Basuto story, a tree which supplies milk must not be touched by the children of its owner. The son makes his sister fetch him some; she reluctantly obeys, and is in consequence carried by her father to a cannibal chief.[2] Here the owner loses his milk, and the intruder is taken to be punished. The same idea is found in the Aladdin group of tales, in which the hero loses palace and wife by someone's becoming possessed of his talisman, as well as in the stories in which possession or destruction of the separable life by another involves the destruction of its owner.[3]

Again, the danger which anyone runs by intruding on a personal fetich, or (what comes to the same thing) obtaining possession of it, is illustrated by a Melanesian story. A cannibal travelled about the islands in a fish which he had made, and which he kept in a secret place in his house, forbidding his son to intrude upon it. The boy went to the hiding-place in his father's absence, got inside the fish, and was carried off to Opa, where his father, aware of what had taken place, came to rescue him from the people who were about to kill him, thinking he was the cannibal himself. In Negro tales we find many incidents based on the hero's possession of a fetich which supplies him with whatever he desires, or tells him what is going on elsewhere. Such stories reflect what is actually believed about the power of certain

[1] Theal, p. 29. There are Basuto and Zulu variants with a different sequel.—Jacottet, p. 123; Callaway, p. 99.

[2] Jacottet, p. 186. The cannibal, however, eats the father himself, and the girl is married to his son.

[3] This is very marked in the curious Bluebeard story cited on p. 142.

fetiches in the hand of the sorcerer. Every fetich-man has several private fetiches in his house which are always kept shrouded from the vulgar gaze, exactly as in our tales. Each Negro, again, hides his "trade-fetich" in a private part of his hut, no member of his own family even being allowed to know where it is kept. Family fetiches, connected with ancestor-worship, and usually composed of portions of the deceased, are also cherished secretly. The following story of a fetich which gave warnings, helped its owner, and kept him informed of what was going on in his absence, was told to Dr Nassau by those who knew the parties and who actually believe every word of the story. The fetich belonged to a man called Elesa, who kept it carefully hidden in a chest. His brother-in-law, knowing of its existence, entered Elesa's house in his absence and opened the chest. The lid flew off; out jumped the fetich, followed by all the goods in the box. The man resolved to replace the fetich and decamp with the goods, but he suddenly found himself rooted to the spot. Meanwhile Elesa had been made aware of what was going on, through the power of his fetich, on which unlawful eyes had looked. He returned, and found the thief unable to move, nor would he release him until he had agreed to pay him a large ransom.[1] A Bluebeard story from real life, whatever we may think of its truth! Personal sacred things, like the sacred *churinga* of the Arunta tribesmen, on which neither women nor the uninitiated must look, must therefore have been carefully hidden away, and all, even the nearest and dearest, warned not to intrude upon them. So Lapp women were forbidden to look at the drum with which the shaman called upon the spirits; we have seen that the same tabu was extended to the jurupari pipes in the case of Brazilian women. In some cases

[1] Miss Kingsley, p. 170. Nassau, pp. 18, 165. For the power of the fetich in other tales, see pp. 174, 267.

also, the images of the gods are tabu. Ellis tells us that "it is considered impious to obtain a sight of the national idols in Madagascar." Certain statues of Egyptian gods were hidden in the depths of the sanctuary, to which only the king and the high priest had access; and in the Eleusinian mysteries the effigies of the divinities were hidden most carefully from every profane eye.[1] Religion and magic alike love to hide their *sacra* under veils of mystery!

The Bluebeard and Robber Bridegroom stories, and those in which the hero finds fortune by opening the door, have certainly nothing religious in them. Both owe their origin to the ingenuity of the story inventor working on already existing materials at a time when the religious tabu had been forgotten or required explanation. Probably owing to Christian influence the sacred enclosure of divinity or fetich-owner became the mysterious chamber, filled with horrors, the property of an utterly wicked and depraved being. Pagan divinities and priests frequently assumed that character in Christian times, just as the wise-woman became the horrible witch or the divinity a grisly demon. The due punishment of the woman who intruded on sacred things became a vile act of cruelty perpetrated on her by a wicked monster who, with imaginative justice, was usually brought to book in the end. Other stories—those in which a man figured—were developed on different lines. Here, too, the being who forbade the entrance was painted in dark hues, but there was nothing ghastly in the chamber—only the magic horse and certain magic objects—another indication of the magico-religious origin of the broken tabu.

Thus stories belonging strictly to an age when religious tabu was a living custom, and showing how those who violated the tabu had come to grief, were

[1] Ellis, *Hist. of Madag.*, i. 399. Foucart, *Mystères d'Eleusis*, p. 51.

gradually altered, as has been seen, and at last removed out of the sphere of the religious tabu altogether. But as this took place the mystery deepened into horror, and the punishment was transferred from the violator of the command to the being (conceived as dreadfully wicked) who uttered it.[1]

[1] The subject has been studied by Mr Hartland in his paper, "The Forbidden Chamber." *F.L.J.*, iii. 193.

CHAPTER XII

TABU IN FOLK-TALES—*continued*

THE LOST HUSBAND OR WIFE

2. *Cupid and Psyche*

THE most pathetic of all folk-tales are those in which, for some apparently irrational reason, a husband loses his wife or a wife her husband. These irrational reasons, as we shall see, are tabus; they occur more frequently in the case of the wife than in that of the husband; and in both cases they are usually, at bottom, of the same nature.

The best-known Lost Husband group of stories is that of Cupid and Psyche, or Beauty and the Beast, already discussed in the chapter on Beast-marriage. The classical tale of Cupid and Psyche, so well told by Apuleius, is, of course, nothing but an old Greek *Märchen*, with many parallels, and to the leading characters of which have been given the names of Greek divinities. The nearest parallels to it are those in which the mysterious bridegroom has no beast form, but his wife must never see him on pain of losing him for ever. Poetical justice, of course, usually demands that she should recover him, but only after many trials. The simplest and original form of the central incident of the story is preserved in Apuleius's literary form of the *Märchen*. The mysterious husband is *not* transformed to beast

shape by enchantment, but still his wife must not see him. The Swedish story of Prince Hatt under the Earth is an excellent example of this. A king has had to give up one of his daughters to a mysterious being who lives underground and is never seen, even by his wife.[1] Three times she is allowed to go home, but always on condition that she reveals nothing of their life. The third time she does so, and her step-mother advises her to strike a light during the night, and see her husband. But a drop of wax fell on his breast, he awoke, the palace was changed into a cave full of serpents, and Prince Hatt had become blind. The pair wander off together, but through bringing his sister out to see him, the wife loses her husband. At last she discovered her lost prince in the hut of a hag, who was about to marry him, and under whose spell he had been all along; and there, by dint of strategy, she recovered him and killed the troll wife.[2] Other parallels are the Greek story of the Lord of Underearth, where the bride, by her sister's advice, throws away the sleeping-draught which she must take nightly, and thus sees her husband, and an Italian variant in Basile's *Pentamerone* with a similar incident. In both the wife is sent away in rags, but her husband eventually saves her, as in the story of Apuleius.[3] The husband is a black man in a Chilian tale, but takes his true form of a prince by night, when his wife, following the advice of an old woman, strikes a light to see him; she has to wear out shoes of iron before she meets him again and breaks the spell.[4] A *Märchen* imbedded in the Japanese *Ko-ji-ki* is nearly akin to these tales. A maiden called Iku-

[1] We shall see later (p. 421) how frequently these tales open with such a sacrifice.

[2] Thorpe, *Y.T.S.*, p. 15.

[3] Garnett, ii. 227. *Pentamerone*, i. 211.

[4] *F.L.J.*, iii. 293. *Cf.* Crane, p. 6. Wife recovers husband after wearing out iron shoes.

tama was visited by a deity during the night only, with obvious results. Her parents, hearing of these nocturnal visits, advised her to "sprinkle red earth in front of the couch, pass a skein of hemp through a needle, and pierce therewith his garment." Next morning they traced the thread to a shrine of a deity at Mount Miwa, and then knew that the coming child would be the son of a god. He was, in fact, the ancestor of the Dukes of Miwa. We hear nothing more of the red earth; it was meant to reveal the visitor's footprints; perhaps a god does not leave any, or they have dropped out of the tale.[1]

The spell hinted at in these stories is more evident in others where the husband has been transformed to animal shape by enchantment. Sometimes he takes his true form at night; then his wife must not see him, and we have the candle incident as before. The husband is a bear in the Norse story of "East o' the Sun and West o' the Moon," which is otherwise a near parallel to the Swedish Prince Hatt, and a wolf in the beautiful Danish tale of "Prince Wolf." In both the girl, advised by her mother, lights the candle to see what her husband is like as a man, with the usual fatal results.[2] Other stories have a different tabu formula—the bride must never tell the secret of her husband's dual nature, else he will never be freed from the spell. The Lorraine version is most tragic—the wolf-husband falls dead when the inquisitive sister wrings the secret from his wife. But usually, after a time of separation the husband, who is a toad in the Italian version, a serpent in Tuscan and Hindu variants, is recovered, and the enchantment comes to an end.[3] A third formula is that the bride must never ask her husband's name. An Indian version

[1] Chamberlain, *Ko-ji-ki*, sect. lxv., p. 177.

[2] Dasent, p. 303. Mulley, p. 224.

[3] Cosquin, ii. 215. Gubernatis, *Z.M.*, ii. 381. *Novelline*, No. 14. Benfey, *Panchatantra*, p. 144.

tells how Tulisa married the king of the serpents. His mother, angry at being raised to the rank of queen-dowager, advised her to ask his name. He tells her, but disappears, and is only recovered after great risks have been incurred. An Italian variant makes the bride's sisters persuade her to ask the man-bird husband his name. "The King of Love," he replies, with like results. The Russian version is more tragic, for when the bride's mother discovers the serpent's name, Osip, she calls him from his watery home and kills him.[1] A fourth formula is that the bride, when allowed to go home, must not stay beyond a certain time else she will lose her husband, and, as in the Basque variant, must wear out seven pairs of shoes before she finds him. Of this there are also Polish, Italian, Sicilian, and Portuguese versions; while in Grimm's story of the "Iron Stove," the bride is not to speak more than three words at home.[2] Other tabus occur in the Scots stories of "The Black Bull o' Norroway" and "The Red Bull o' Norroway;" in the first the heroine is lost because she moves her foot in her joy at the bull's victory over the devil; in the second she loses the bull when, by pulling a pin from his hide, he regains his shape of a handsome prince.[3]

Turning now to stories in which the wife is lost through the husband's indiscretion, we note a series of similar tabus, as well as a number of others. Of the first formula, not to see the bride, there is an Italian version which is clearly derived from the Cupid and Psyche tale. Peppino is wrecked on a rock,

[1] *Asiatic Journal*, ii. Crane, p. 1. Ralston, p. 116.

[2] Webster, p. 38. *Cf.* p. 167 for a story with the formula "never to say anything about the husband." Toeppen, p. 142. Comparetti, No. 164. Pitré, No. 39. Coelho, No. 29. Indian and Lettish stories have no tabu, but the mother burns the skin of the beast-husband, who thus regains his true form by the breaking of the enchantment. Cosquin, ii. 228. Leskien, No. 23.

[3] Chambers, pp. 95, 99.

which opens, disclosing some pretty girls, who take him to a castle. There one of them comes to him by night. He is allowed to return to his parents, who give him the inevitable candle, and when he lights it everything disappears. The mysterious wife is recovered after years of searching.[1] Parallel to this is the tabu in the mediæval romance of Melusina, who is cursed by her mother to become a serpent from the waist downwards every Saturday, till she should marry a man who would promise never to see her on that day, and should keep his promise. The husband's curiosity overcame him, and, looking through the keyhole, he beheld her naked, and lost her for ever. In Jean d'Arras' *Chronicle*, which sums up the many versions of this highly popular tale, the introduction relates that Melusina's mother, the fay Pressina, was mated to a mortal, who lost her because he broke the tabu imposed upon him of never visiting her at her confinement.[2] The Greek myth of Actæon, changed to a stag and dismembered by his own hounds, because he had seen Diana bathing, has an obvious connection with such tales. Actæon was not Diana's husband, but he broke some tabu which she had instituted. Possibly the Greeks borrowed this myth from Babylon; at all events, in the legend of Gilgames we hear of a shepherd changed into a leopard by the goddess Istar, and then hunted by his sheep-boy and torn by his dogs.

The second formula, not to reveal the secret, is well illustrated by tales from lower levels of culture, Malagasy and Negro, though it is found in the Celtic idea of the fairy wife whom her human husband reproaches with her origin. "She disappears, taking with her the children and fortune she brought him. The gorgeous palace, fit for the entertainment of

[1] Crane, p. 7.

[2] Keightley, *Fairy Mythol.*, p. 480. Baring-Gould, *Curious Myths*, p. 470.

kings, vanishes, and he finds himself again in his dilapidated hut with a pool of raindroppings from the roof in the middle of the floor."[1] The Malagasy story is that a native drew from the water a nymph who agreed to marry him if he would never reveal her origin. To this he at once agreed. One day, while drunk, he was asked why, being so poor, he had been able to marry such a beautiful wife. He told the story; at once his wife returned with her daughters to the water, but left her sons behind her on land, where their descendants are still living. A similar Fjort story has a curious introduction. Mavunga pulled the leaves of certain trees, when they changed to men and women. One of the latter married him, and commanded his fetich to make him handsome, and provide a nice house for them. Meanwhile Mavunga's relations invited him to their village. His wife forbade him to say anything of the origin of his happiness, or to eat any of their food which, as she knew, was poisoned. He was on the point of revealing all, when he heard his wife calling him, and ran home where he was well scolded. On a second visit, however, he told all. One by one his fine garments and ornaments disappeared; he returned home, and discovered that wife and house had disappeared for ever. Another West African story, in Dr Nassau's collection, resembles this but introduces other incidents. Here the poor son of a king finds his meals made ready for him in his lonely hut. This has been done by a woman called Ilambe, who belongs to the *awiri* (a kind of fairies). To effect her purpose she concealed herself within a forest rat which he had killed, coming forth from it in his absence. When he discovered this through the advice of a wizard, he married her, but, said she, "Never say to me that I came from the low origin of a rat's head." With the help of her fetich Ilambe

[1] Campbell, *Superstitions of the Scottish Highlands*, p. 42.

made her husband wealthy, and supplied him with houses, servants, and fields. Ships, too, came to trade whenever she willed. One day, under the influence of liquor, the man grew angry at her chiding, and uttered the fatal words. In spite of her children's pleading she said she must leave him, and departed with all of these, save the two eldest. In this case the husband did not lose his wealth.[1]

A story current among the Tshis resembles these. A native of Chama married a woman who was a fish by nature, promising never to reveal what she was. One day she wished to return to her native element, and he insisted on accompanying her, with the result that he was speared by a fisherman. When he recovered, he and his wife returned home, and he hid the spear in the thatch, where the owner ultimately found it, and forced the man to reveal all. No evil consequences followed the breach of his promise at the moment, but later, when he had taken a second wife, she taunted the fish-woman with her origin. She returned to the water with her youngest child, leaving the two elder children, whose descendants bear her name, and never eat of that particular kind of fish.[2] This story, thinks Major Ellis, is connected with the totem beliefs of the Tshi tribes. In the Celtic variant it is possible that the fairy bride was once an animal also, but this part of the story was gradually dropped.

The third formula, never to name the wife, occurs in an Esthonian tale, which mixes this formula with the first. The handsome but despised youngest son of a farmer married a mermaid, who carried him to

[1] Ferrand, p. 91. Dennett, p. 42. Nassau, p. 351. We have already met with the hiding incident in other tales, Eskimo, etc., p. 261, while the loss of all his possessions by the reckless man is also found in the Melanesian, Swahali, and Uganda Puss in Boots tales, pp. 226-229, where I have cited a Basuto story which is a close parallel to Dr Nassau's West African variant.

[2] Ellis, *Tshi-Speaking Peoples*, p. 209.

her home under the sea, telling him he must never call her "Mermaid." Each Thursday she remained apart, and the hero, thinking, like Melusina's husband, that she had a lover, spied upon her and saw her mermaid form. Next morning she returned, only to bid him farewell for ever, and with a crash he found himself on the shore, changed into an old man, who died soon after. A Norman story varies the formula slightly; the knight of the Château d'Argouges, who has married a fay, must never use the word "mort" in her presence. One day when she kept him waiting because of her elaborate toilette, he said sarcastically, "Belle dame, seriez bonne à aller chercer la *mort* car vous êtes bien longue en vos besognes." Instantly she disappeared, striking the wall with her hand, where the print is still to be seen.[1] Compare these with the Shawnee myth of Yellow-Sky, a mysterious girl, who agrees to wed her lover if he will never mention her name. To do so would involve him in calamity. She died, still warning him. Long after he uttered her name, and was transformed into a buck.[2]

To the fourth formula, not to stay too long at home, corresponds the incident in many tales, where the husband, returning home with his wife, leaves her outside the town till he visits his long-lost parents. She implores him not to kiss them; he does so, and oblivion of his past life follows. Only after a long time, and when he is on the eve of marrying another woman, does the true bride succeed in recalling everything to his remembrance. This incident is the usual sequel to the stories of the transformation flight, and in some the kiss of oblivion

[1] Kirby, p. 49. Bérenger-Féraud, ii. 357. *Cf.* the Tshi stories cited later in this chapter, and the curious Basuto tale in the chapter on "Helpful Animals," p. 228. Here the wife comes out of an ostrich-egg, and must never be called "Daughter of an Ostrich Egg."

[2] Lanman, *Haw-Hoo-Hoo*, 231.

is represented as resulting from the pursuer's curse. The idea of the forgotten former life may have been borrowed from the curious but widespread phenomena of alternating personality, whether resulting naturally or caused by the primitive hypnotic methods of the medicine-man (in which case the curse would be explained); but the command not to kiss is a clear case of tabu, easily explainable, as we shall see.

Another tabu formula is that in which the husband must never irritate his wife, or ask the reason of anything which she does. It is illustrated by a *Märchen* in the Japanese *Ko-ji-ki*. A jewel was born of a maiden impregnated by the sun's rays. It came into the possession of a rich man, and turned into a lovely girl, whom he married. But, growing proud, he reviled her, and she refused to stay with him. She returned to the land of her ancestors, and is now a deity called Princess Akam. There is a Dyak story with a fish caught by a man and then turning into a girl. When she has grown up, she marries his son, but leaves him because he struck her, and resumed her fish shape in the water. The same story is told by the Dyaks of a swan-maiden. The husband had a bad temper, and took off his jacket to beat her, when she vanished, leaving her child behind her. A similar tale is current among the Melanesians. Here, however, the wife is a ghost given to the man by his dead uncle. She bears him a child, but because she is suspected of untruthfulness by her husband, he beats her and bids her go back to her own country. This she does, leaving her child behind her, but the sequel has a touch of true pathos in it. The husband found the child crying, and sought help from all the creatures. Only the spider would help him, and spun a line from earth to heaven on which he carried father and child to the sky. There the child recognised its mother, and called to her; her affection

welled up again, and all three returned to earth on the spider's back. The formula occurs also in the Persian *History of Nassar*, and in this form has several variants. A man obtains a genie's daughter to wife on condition that he never contradicts or irritates her. She throws her children to wolves, and into the fire; he preserves his temper. But one day she dashes some food sent them by a grandee to the ground because she knows it is poisoned. He upbraids her for her temper. "Young man," she cried, "on the day of our union you promised not to ask the reason of anything I should do. The children whom you thought I had given to wolves and thrown into the fire, were simply delivered to their nurses, and are alive. Now I can remain with you no longer," and changing into a dove, she flew away, and left him lamenting.[1]

In many Welsh fairy-bride stories the man can only keep his wife (whom, in some versions, he has obtained by discovering her name) by promising never to touch her with iron. This usually happens by accident, as when the husband, trying to catch his horse, throws the bridle at it, missing it and striking his wife; or by handing her the shears with which he has been shearing the sheep; or by playfully throwing at her a bundle of rushes in which his reaping-hook is bound up. In all she vanishes at once, though sometimes returning to watch over her children (whose descendants are still living), as in one tale where, at night, the husband hears her singing

> "Lest my son should find it cold,
> Place on him his father's coat;
> Lest the fair one find it cold,
> Place on her my petticoat."[2]

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[1] *Ko-ji-ki*, sect. cxiv., p. 258. Ling Roth, i. 303. Codrington, p. 379. Clouston, *E.R.*, pp. 56-57.

[2] Many versions in Rhys, i. 86, 97, 128, 147.

It can, I think, be shown that nearly all these tabu formulæ arose out of actual custom, and by way of setting forth what conceivably might happen or did happen through breaking the tabu. Take the first formula, in which husband or wife must not see each other, we find that the Samoyede wife must conceal her face from her husband for two months after marriage, and that among the Port Moresby natives, among the Tipperahs of Burmah, in Timbuctoo, with the Iroquois, as well as the Nufoers, the husband, for a certain time, never sees his wife, visits her secretly by night, and leaves her before dawn. This was also the case among the early Romans, as well as in ancient Sparta, where sometimes the pair did not see each other till a child was born.[1] Elsewhere, in Egypt, South Arabia, Morocco, Kumaun, and with the upper classes in China, the husband does not see his wife till the ceremonies are over, or, as in ancient Egypt (as illustrated by a story in Maspero's collection, where the bridegroom does not know that his sister has been made his wife till next morning), until the marriage has been consummated. This practice also obtains in Manchuria, Persia, and parts of South Africa.[2] On the borders of Europe and Asia, the custom still exists among many of the peoples in the Caucasus region. With the Chevsun the married woman remains for a year with her family; she and her husband meet in secret, and do not look at each other before strangers, until the first child

[1] Ellis, *Psychol. of Sex*, ii. 7. Chalmers, *New Guinea*, p. 163. Lewin, p. 203. Caillié, *Timbuctoo*, i. 94. Lafitau, *Mœurs*, i. 576. (I owe these last two references to Lang, *Custom and Myth*, pp. 72-73.) Guillemard, *Cruise of Marchesa*, ii. 287. Jevons' *Plutarch*, *Romane Questions*, p. 565. *Lycurgus*, xv. 48.

[2] Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, i. 197. Featherman, *Races of Mankind*, v. 422. Leared, *Morocco*, p. 36. *Panjab Notes and Queries*, ii. 244. Giles, i. 193. Maspero, p. 54. *Folk-Lore*, i. 489. Pinkerton, *Voyages*, ix. 154. *J.A.I.*, xix. 271.

is born. This was the case till recently in Georgia. There, as with the Tcherkes, it is a gross insult to ask a man how his wife is, while among the latter people the husband must go secretly by night to see his wife. M. Kovavelsky explains all this as a survival of group marriage; several brothers owning several wives in common, and visiting them secretly lest there should arise any suggestion of exclusive rights in any one of them.[1] Be this as it may, such customs, which, among those who use them, have all the force of tabus, explain our stories in which husband or wife must not see each other, as well as the evil results of indiscretion. As Mr Jevons, speaking of Plutarch's Roman instance, says, "The prosaic Roman punctiliously observed fairy etiquette in these matters, and habitually behaved like an inhabitant of fairyland." All our examples dwell on the seclusion of the wife rather than of the husband, but they may be interpreted either way. Mr Lang, however, cites a story from the Vedas, in which Urvasi tells Puruvaras that he must never let her see him naked, and suggests that this is doubtless the remnant of "a traditional Aryan law of nuptial etiquette."[2] The folk-tales of the first group must have originated in stories told at an earlier date, and in a simpler manner, to explain the custom, or, possibly, to give it support and so point the moral, just as children are warned by the story of Struwelpeter, the naughty boy whose evil deeds brought him to grief. Moral teaching is always of more effect when illustrated by a story, as preachers, ancient and modern, know well, and many savage folk-tales may have had no other purpose primarily. Such customs and such folk-tales have occasionally given rise to ætiological myths. Here is an Eskimo example. The sun and moon were sister and brother, and

[1] "La Famille Matriarchale en Caucase," *L'Anthropologie*, iv. 272.

[2] *Custom and Myth*, p. 76.

lived in one house. Every night the sun was visited by a man, but could not tell who it was; in other words, bridegroom and bride must not see each other. This Eskimo Psyche hit upon the plan of blackening her hands and rubbing them on the man's back, and next day found her brother blackened. That is why the moon has black spots. The Indians of the Amazon tell the same story of the sun and moon; but here the lustful visitor is the woman, because the moon with them is a female. So among the Australians, with whom the practice is found, the deity Bunjil of the Wawarongs has a wife, Boiboi, whose face he has never seen.[1]

The third tabu formula, not to ask the husband's name, or, in the case of the wife, not to name her, is also directly illustrated by existing custom, and the stories are explicable in precisely the same way as the former groups. It has already been seen that the name is part of one's personality, and is not revealed lest its owner should be put in the power of its discoverer. This fear with many peoples extends to the husband or wife. Thus the wife must not utter her husband's name, when she knows it, among the Bari of East Africa, the Zulus, the Kafirs, the Red Indians, the Hindus, the Aino. The last-mentioned people think that if their wives did so, it would be equivalent to killing their husbands. Conversely, Solomon and Pelew Islanders, Todas, Ojibways and other Red Men, as well as modern Servians, are very cautious about mentioning the names of their wives.[2] Frequently this prohibition extends to the names of

[1] Rink, p. 236. Hartt, *Amazonian Tortoise Myths*, p. 40. Keane, *Man: Past and Present*, p. 151.

[2] Munzinger, *Ostafrik. Stud.*, p. 526. Callaway, *Relig. System of Amazulu*, p. 316. Shooter, *Kafirs of Natal*, p 211. Dorman, p. 154. Ward, *Hindus*, ii. 337. Batchelor, p. 259 *seq.* Guppy, *Solomon Is.*, i. 47. Marshall, *Among the Todas*, p. 73. Jones, *Ojibways*, p. 162. *Folk-Lore*, ii. 71.

the wife's or husband's relations, while with many peoples a whole series of words and phrases used by one sex is tabu to the other.

The fourth formula, involving danger to either spouse from the relations of the other, is explainable as an extension of the widespread savage belief that such danger does actually exist. As we have just seen, the names of such relations are frequently tabu. The most definite instance of avoidance of relations by marriage is that in which the husband must never look at, or talk to, his mother-in-law; or the wife to her mother-in-law. This occurs among Australian tribes, in Polynesia, New Guinea, North America, and in some parts of Africa, to mention only a few cases; while the perennial amusement afforded by jokes about the mother-in-law among certain classes among ourselves is doubtless a reminiscence of some similar custom.[1] Our stories belong to a time when the custom was only dimly remembered, and the precise nature of the danger from relations by marriage was clearly misunderstood. The tabu has made a *volte-face*, and the danger lies indirectly through the visit paid by husband or wife to his or her relations. Sometimes this danger is that they may make the husband forget his wife, or she may stay too long with them; or again, their inquisitiveness may lead to husband's or wife's ruin. This has been noted in the Cupid and Psyche group of tales, where so frequently the husband has an animal form. It is also the subject of our second tabu formula. Why should the true nature of the husband or wife not be made known? It might be explained by the simple idea underlying the theory of one's name being part of one's nature; hence, for a stranger to know one's

[1] Dawson, *Aust. Aborigines*, p. 29. Curr, *Aust. Race*, *passim*. Williams, *Fiji*, i. 136. Klemm, *Cultur-Gesch.*, ii. 77. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, ii. 196. *J.A.I.*, xxiv. 296; xxv. 200. For some other instances, see Tylor, *Early History of Mankind*.

name or nature means danger. But we must add to this the fact that the husband or wife in these tales has usually a trace of fin or fur or feather. They must then have been suggested, like all stories of Beast-marriage, by totemistic beliefs; and when Totemism as an institution was passing away the necessity of concealing the animal nature of the spouse would readily become prominent in the stories. The Malagasy and Tshi stories are both totemistic; a clan or sept is said to have descended from this union. So in another Tshi story, where a man marries a fish called *appei*, which is a young woman so long as she is his wife, none of their descendants must ever eat *appei*, else they will become fish.[1] The stories have been told to explain the animal origin of this or that clan, and the tabu has been added on the model of existing tabu stories, and by way of giving point and *verve* to them. Underlying all stories with this formula, is the enmity of the family of the husband to his wife, or *vice versâ*, illustrated best of all in the stories of the jealous sisters, who wound the (animal) husband by strewing glass on the place which he must pass through.[2]

Finally, the tabu which forbids the husband to touch his wife with iron, falls into line with the numerous stories in all of which iron is fatal, usually to fairies, or preserves its owner against the attack of demons or spirits. In all this there is a vivid glimpse into the dim past, when bronze or iron and those who used it were looked upon with superstitious awe by people yet in the Stone Age. Observing this, the former made use of it as a means of terrorising by magic the people of the inferior race; and long after the use of stone had passed away, the magical virtue of iron was remembered. But now it was no longer fellow human beings whom it could terrify. Its power existed only over fairies, demons, spirits,

[1] Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 211. [2] See p. 255.

who ceased to harm those who possessed it, or, like the fairy wife, fled away from its touch. Yet in the fairy wife we may see the relic of the Stone Age women mated to their metal-using conquerors, and cowering in terror before their apparently magical weapons.

As for the tabu forbidding the husband to irritate his wife, who, it should be observed, is usually a fairy, I confess that, as a tabu, it is somewhat baffling. But as stories invented (shall we say by women) to explain the natural objection which the wife always has to being crossed, as well as the danger which may result from it—a danger perfectly patent to the savage, who in so many cases views women at all times, and especially at various critical epochs, as highly dangerous, the stories explain themselves. And here we may leave them, till a better explanation is suggested.

Of most of these tabu formulæ we have found examples from primitive peoples which are, in most cases, directly drawn from existing tabu customs. Some other examples may be cited. Wurunnah, a shameless Australian black-fellow stole two girls, and bade them collect pine-tree bark. They refused, saying that if they did so, he would never more see them. He forced them to obey, and with each stroke, axes, trees, and girls rose into the air, and the girls became stars. Here, obviously, the girls were of the pine-tree totem clan, and dared not destroy their totem according to the well-known totem law forbidding such an act. The same breach of totem tabu caused a Malagasy hero to lose his wife, one of the daughters of the sky, by his relations forcing her to drink *toàka* (rum), which she had told him would inevitably cause her death. A Kafir story illustrates another custom current among them—that of the absolute seclusion of a girl at puberty in a hut. The danger of leaving the hut is shown by the story of a chief's daughter,

who left it to bathe in a stream where she was bitten by a snake, and covered like it with hideous black blotches. Lastly, a Fjort example, similar to the one already cited, illustrates actual native belief, for as Miss Kingsley says, "I have known in the flesh several ladies whose husbands were always most anxious that they should not hear or see some particular thing that would cause them to disappear." The story illustrating this belief tells how a mysterious woman became the wife of Buite, on condition that he should never show her the heads of fish caught by him. Growing tired of this injunction, he sent the fish home with their heads, but the messenger removed them. The tenth time he did not do so, and immediately house and wife disappeared, "and Buite, though he wept much, saw them no more."[1]

No better examples of folk-tales arising out of existing belief or custom, and invented either to explain, or else to support such custom or belief, could be wished for. When, however, such customs and beliefs pass away and the stories remain, some explanation is required. Hence we learn that certain things must not be done because husband or wife is under enchantment, or he or she belongs to a supernatural race; or, again, the formulæ of other stories, like those of the Beast-marriage group, are borrowed sometimes to explain the tabu, sometimes only to heighten the effect of the story. All this is the natural outcome of the need of intensifying ideas which have become unexplainable; they have passed to the region of the mysterious, where nothing, however irrational, can ever be incredible. But withal, the primitive idea, based on existing custom, is never quite lost sight of, and may be traced back to its original source.

A final incident of the Lost Wife cycle is found

[1] Parker, p. 40. *F.L.J.*, i. 204. Theal, p. 17. Dennett, p. 39.

in that voluminous group, with variants from every part of the world, which may be comprehensively called the Swan-Maiden cycle. The *motif* of the stories which give their name to the group is that the hero of the tale sees some birds—swans, geese, ducks, flying to a lake, where, taking off their feather dresses, they become beautiful maidens. Then, stealing up to their dresses, he possesses himself of one of them. When its owner comes out of the water, she is forced to follow him, because he has got her feather dress, and to become his wife. But in many stories the wife becomes possessed at a later time of her dress, and is thus enabled to leave her husband, who sometimes does, but sometimes does not, regain her. These incidents occur as a separate story, or form part of the fabric of a longer tale, in every European country; while outside Europe there are Samoyede, Kurdish, Indian, Japanese, Algerian, Arab, Swahili, Arawâkan, Red Indian, Eskimo, and Melanesian versions.[1] The mythological school have interpreted the story in their own way; it belongs in reality to our own tabu class. But it should be noted here that the story is told of other animals than birds: in a Croatian story, a wolf which removes its skin; in Guiana, a dog whose shape a woman takes by putting on a dog's skin; in Scandinavian or Celtic tales there is frequently a preference for the seal, which, when it removes its skin, becomes a beautiful woman.[2]

Sometimes the story is told of supernatural beings, or of women of another and ravishingly beautiful race.

[1] For several European versions, see Hartland, *Science of Fairy Tales*, p. 255 *seq.*; and Baring-Gould, *Curious Myths*, p. 561. For the others, see Castren, p. 172. Prym and Socin, p. 51. Mitford, i. 161. Bérenger-Féraud, ii. 40. Lane, *Arabian Nights*, iii. 352. Steere, p. 355. Brett, p. 29. *Legends of the Wigwam*, p. 81. Rink, p. 145. Codrington, p. 397.

[2] Wratislaw, p. 290. Brett, p. 176. See p. 438 *infra*, for a Melanesian parallel.

Here almost every trace of the animal has disappeared, save that these supernatural women have wings which they lay aside, and the possession of which affects their capture, as in Greek stories of the Nereids, and in a tale from the New Hebrides. More usually, the capture results from the hero's taking part of the woman's clothing when she is bathing. Of this there are Irish, Pomeranian, Bulgarian, Samoyede, Santal, Celebes, and Red Indian variants, while it is a common occurrence in Indian *Märchen* and saga. Here, I believe, we have the key to the whole group of stories, and the foundation on which one and all rest. No idea is more common in primitive thought than this, that any article of clothing or ornament, or the name, hair-clippings, nail-parings, etc., contains all the virtue of its owner, and is so much a part of himself that whatever is done to it is *ipso facto* done to him. Hence to become possessed of it is to have the owner in your power and at your mercy. Students of primitive magic and of witchcraft know how universally all those things are used to work harm to the victim or to gain power over him, while that harm or submission frequently occurs when the victim becomes aware of what is being done. The underlying belief acts like a hypnotic suggestion, and almost automatically produces the result. A single instance will illustrate this. A healthy native girl in Australia told Mrs Parker that she would probably die soon, because a man had stolen a lock of her hair, and was now on his way with it to the wizards. Should they agree to burn it magically, she would inevitably die.[1] In the same way many primitive peoples believe that a woman's love may be gained by obtaining part of her

[1] Parker, 2nd series, xiii. *Cf.* a similar instance in Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, i. 417, where a girl took fever and expected to die as her stolen and buried hair rotted away.

hair, dress, etc., and saying a magical charm over it.[1] So, again, to put on any part of a woman's dress is to put on her qualities, and especially her weakness. The dress, scanty though it may be, is in fact a real part of one's personality.[2] This may be illustrated from a Micmac story, in which Pulowech the Partridge sees three girls bathing. By a stratagem he captures the hair-string of one of them, whereupon she must follow him. So in the Irish tale John gets Grey Norris's daughter in his power by stealing her clothes; the Pomeranian girl is caught by the huntsman taking her shift; a Chinese story relates that a man forced a women to become his wife by stealing her clothes; Abistanooch captures two fairy women in an Algonquin story by taking their garments, because he knew "that when fairies are naked, and a man has their clothes, he holds them at his mercy." Best of all is a New Guinea story. The hero falls in love with a beautiful silvery object—the moon—which he digs out of the earth. It bewails its untimely birth, and disappears. He follows it, and discovers a lovely woman bathing. The woman is the moon, and the hero, like Abistanooch, gets her in his power by promptly sitting down on her petticoat, and refusing to budge till she promises to marry him. She tells him it is impossible; she is a spirit, he will die if he touches her; in any case his death is certain because he has touched her clothes. However, taking pity on her persistent Endymion, as he must die in any case, she agrees to marry him for one day. "So one day more am I deified!"—but immediately after he died. Now the moon was meant to be the bride of the sun, but he grew

[1] Crawley, p. 185.

[2] Hence the offering of part of a patient's dress to the tree by a sacred well; it transfers the diseased part of one's personality to the tree, or is a link between the spirit of the tree and the man himself.

jealous; the breach between them widened, and they mutually agreed to be seen as little as possible together.[1]

In these tales we have the nearest analogue to the primitive form of the story, which must have pointed out the danger a woman incurred in allowing a man to obtain possession of her scanty clothing or ornaments. In effect there is something sacred in a New Guinea woman's petticoat, as Mr Romilly informs us, and a boy was saved from death by the women throwing their petticoats over him—not a man daring to touch him. Petticoat government! The idea is also illustrated by the custom of the Kavirondo (Bantu) people. There the women wear only a tiny apron of leather, to which, however, the greatest importance is attached. If a man of the same tribe should even touch it, although he is her husband, a mortal offence is committed against its owner, which must be expiated by sacrifice, else the woman will die.[2] In the same way Andamanese women will not renew their leaf-apron in presence of each other; it is always done privately, and a like secrecy is also practised by the Indians of Guiana. In all these cases there is doubtless a mingling of fear lest another get possession of the garment and so work harm to its owner, with that other curious form of fear underlying savage tabus about the sexual organs. These tabus work in two ways: (1) as a protection of those sexual centres against magical or other influences; (2) since these organs symbolise life, they are, therefore, in themselves or in their representations, forces powerful to work harm or to neutralise it; hence, they must be covered and

[1] Leland, p. 281. *F.L.J.*, i. 320. Hartland, *S. of F.T.*, p. 262. Dennys, p. 140. Leland, *op. cit.*, p. 142. In stories where a mermaid is captured, it is usually by stealing her pouch, belt, cap, etc. When she recovers this she returns to the sea. Romilly, p. 134.

[2] Romilly, p. 74. Johnston, ii. 728.

concealed.[1] The importance attached to the bridegroom's unloosening the bride's girdle at marriage, among ancient Greeks and many other peoples, seems to point in the same direction. It symbolised his power over her. Gradually, however, with the weakening of such beliefs about clothes, the stories were told only of supernatural women; while, once more, this tabu group was influenced by the totemistic Beast-marriage cycle, and the wife was regarded as both beast and human, or rather something more than human. She had the power of taking human form, but might resume her animal shape, and frequently did so through her husband's carelessness, as in the Melusina cycle, or as in an Ojibway story in which the beaver wife again becomes a beaver when her husband lets her foot touch water—her native element. This, as Mr Lang points out, is an exact parallel to the Sanskrit story of Bheki the Frog, who, as a girl, married a king. He, too, lost her through breaking the condition made, that she should never see a drop of water.[2] Already many primitive races had legends of men mating with divine women who, being divine, could only remain with them a certain time. It is extremely likely that upon such legends were now grafted the folk-tales of human wives captured by retaining their garment. The reason why the divine woman became the wife of a mortal was now made clearer; it was not merely her love for him, but because he had forced her to become his wife through getting possession of her shining raiment, while her repossession of that raiment supplied a stronger reason for her leaving him. Such a legend is that of the goddess Hapai, who, as the Maoris say, fell in

[1] *Cf.* the curious method adopted by the men of the New Hebrides (Somerville, *J.A.I.*, xxiii. 368). On the whole subject, see Hirn, *Origin of Art*, p. 217; Ellis, *Psychology of Sex*, ii. 7 *seq.*

[2] Kohl, *Kitchi Gami*, p. 105. Lang, *Custom and Myth*, p. 77. *Cf.* the Passamaquoddy story of the Partridge's Wife, p. 320 *supra*.

love with Tawhaki, but always left him before dawn. But her love for him made her stay, and then the angry gods carried her back to heaven, where the brave Tawhaki recovered her, and became a god.[1]

But when the incidents of the Beast-marriage group were attracted into this group, the totemistic origin had been long forgotten, and the animal bride was only an animal when she donned her animal skin. This is the real origin of the Swan-maiden group—the beast-skin of the Beast-marriage cycle has replaced the tabued garment of the group which told the danger women incurred through letting a man steal that garment. And as in these stories the woman regained her freedom by recovering her garment, so when the animal-wife sees her feather-dress or wings by accident, the old animal nature returns to her, she is tempted to put them on or strongly desires to do so, and no sooner are they donned than she must quit human society. Thus two quite separate story groups have coalesced as neatly as do the two natures, animal and human, in the lovely and coveted Swan-maiden. The story, of course, was told of any animal; the popularity of the swan may be regarded as an example of the survival of the fittest. But in some stories of this group, as in the later stories of the Beast-marriage cycle, the tabu on the dress does not appear, though so long as the dress exists the bride cannot be freed from her animal nature. Unlike the Swan-maiden, she is not tempted to retain or regain her animal form, though this idea recurs in many Swan-maiden stories where the lost wife is finally restored to her husband. The stories to which I have referred tell how the woman has an animal form by enchantment, but is released from it by her lover's burning her animal skin. As we have seen, this is the *motif* of many stories in the Beast-marriage group, while it has its concomitant

[1] Clarke, p. 147.

in the occasional tabu stories where the wife will regain her human shape if her husband observes certain conditions.[1]

In all stories where the animal skin may be set aside, as in many others, Red Indian, Chinese, etc., where by merely putting on an animal's skin or bird's wings a temporary transformation is effected,[2] this idea may have been suggested by one particular aspect of Totemism as well as by mimetic magic. For in certain sacred dances, by putting on the skin of the totemic animal, the dancers represented it, and so assimilated its qualities, and were actually identified with it. By becoming like the totem animal, they became one with it. Likeness was merged into identity.

Or, again, where a divinity had a totem origin, and its sacred animal representative was sacrificed to it, the priest or sacrificer frequently wore its skin, thus identifying himself with the divinity and the victim. Assyrian, Egyptian, Greek, Roman, and Mexican examples show the wide range of this practice.[3] Frequently, too, for purposes of divina-

[1] The skin episode takes a curious form in a story from West Africa. A king's daughter called Ilambe wished a husband different from other women's, and by her magic power changed a mbinde (wild goat) into a handsome youth, after she had skinned the animal. She burned the skin, preserving the ash. Some time after, the husband paid marked attentions to another woman. His wife took a little of the ash and rubbed it on his feet, which turned to hoofs. He pleaded with her, and she restored them as before. But again he roused her jealousy, and again the same warning was given him. Finally, when he had sinned a third time, she took the whole of the ash and, having bade the woman prepare for his coming, threw it over her husband, who turned into a mbinde again and bounded off into the forest. Here the underlying idea is still the same ; so long as any part of the animal remains the animal nature will return when the transformed person is brought in contact with it.—Nassau, p. 346.

[2] *Cf.* Petitot, p. 174. Giles, i. 278. Helpful Animals chapter, *passim.*

[3] Robertson Smith, *Religion of Semites*, pp. 274, 277, 292, 495. *Cf.* Lobeck's *Aglaophamus.*

tion, the seer was wrapped up in an animal's skin and left in a solitary place. This was a Celtic practice, pre- and post-Christian, and occurred also among the Greeks and Romans.[1]

These various uses of the animal's skin suggest that they may readily have given rise to the folk-tale incident of the possibility of assuming the animal's shape and nature by donning its skin. Meanwhile we sum up the results of our investigation of the marriage tabu incident in Mr Jevon's words: "The primitive public for whom the fairy tales in question were composed, found the incident of the violated tabu as thrilling and as full of 'actuality' as a modern reader finds the last sensational novel."[2]

[1] Martin, *Western Isles*, p. 111. Pausanias, i. 34. Virgil, *Æneid*, vii. 85; viii. 281.

[2] Jevons' Plutarch's *Romane Questions*, Intro., lxxvii.

CHAPTER XIII

THE CLEVER YOUNGEST SON

In reading any collection of folk-tales, one is struck by the frequency with which they relate the adventures of three sons or daughters, one of whom, the youngest, is invariably the most fortunate. Thus Mr Jones's collection of fifty-three Magyar tales contains twenty-one dealing with the fortunes of a youngest son, and in other collections the same large proportion is met with. Many tales, Russian, Basque, Celtic, etc., represent the youngest son as a simpleton, who, nevertheless, comes to honour and fortune. It is obvious that all this has not happened by chance, but has originated out of some definite cause. Of the numerous story cycles in which the formula occurs, we can only consider a few, but some of these may hint at the solution of the problem of the favour paid to the youngest son of the family. Certain of these cycles show only the superiority of the young hero or heroine; others appeal more directly to our sympathy by showing him as the victim of adverse circumstances; others do so still more by setting forth the callous wickedness of the elder sisters or brothers.

(1) The first cycle we shall call that of the Treacherous Brothers, and it may be illustrated by a Russian story. A monster called a norka ravaged a king's deer-park. The two elder sons watched for

it, but drank too much vodka; the youngest, a simpleton, wounded the norka, and followed it to the underworld, his brothers refusing to descend with him. There he saw the norka's three beautiful sisters, who gave him the water of strength and a sword of steel. He cut off the monster's head, and then attached the maidens one by one to a rope. His brothers pulled them up to earth and then deserted him. He wandered about for some time and was delivered by a bird, grateful for his kindness to her young ones. He now became a tailor's assistant. Meanwhile his brothers were about to marry the girls, who refused to wed until replicas of their underworld garments had been made them. No one could do this; the hero, however, had brought away the dresses with him, and now gave them to his master to carry to the king. He supplied them with shoes in the same way. The sisters were naturally much astonished, but the youngest at last discovered the hero, who married all three, the elder brothers being duly punished.[1]

There are many variants of this story, but usually the introduction relates how the brothers go to seek their sister or mother, abducted by a monster. The youngest is the rescuer, and also liberates three princesses, prisoners of the monster. They will not marry till certain magical objects are brought them by the treacherous brothers; these the hero obtains by the aid of animals whom he has helped; sometimes, as in the Russian story, he has brought these objects with him. There are several Russian variants of this type, as well as Serbian, Greek, Sicilian, Spanish (in this three princesses are shut up by their father, and one of them promised in marriage to whomsoever sets them free), Celtic, and Syriac. In this last the

[1] Ralston, p. 73; *cf.* p. 100. For the grateful bird incident, see p. 239.

young prince's brother and uncle behave in the same treacherous manner, while in a Kabyle variant the brothers are sons by different wives.[1]

A North German story opens with the watching formula, and the youngest brother obtains the colt, which is the thief. The story then glides into the formula of some variants of group eleven, the colt climbing a glass mountain, where the hero finds the enchanted princess. In a Norse variant he obtains three horses and as many suits of armour as the result of his watch, and becomes the unknown knight whose feats of strength win the bride whom his brothers, who despised him as Boots, fail to win. There is a group of tales in which Dove-maidens are the thieves, and the hero captures one which becomes his bride. She has been enchanted by a troll, and the hero's after-adventures describe how he released her from the enchantment. A Swahili story also introduces the watching episode. Here, as in the Malagasy tale of group two, the youngest son is disliked by his father, because he is always in the kitchen. But he succeeds in discovering the thief who steals his father's dates, when everyone else fails. It is a bird which promises to help him if he releases it. He agrees, and later captures a monster, in trying to kill which three of his brothers have been slain. His father made him his heir after getting the willing consent of the remaining brothers.[2]

[1] Dietrich, No. 5.—Hero's mother and three princesses rescued. Mijatovich, p. 31.—The brothers, on returning, make a shepherd personate the hero unsuccessfully. Hahn, Nos. 26, 70. Crane, p. 36. *Romancero Generale*, No. 1263. Campbell, iii. 9. Prym und Socin, No. 46. Rivière, p. 235. In some versions these incidents form a sequel to the Bear's Son cycle, and the Companions, not the brothers, of the hero treat him in this way. For the pit incident, cf. the desertion of Joseph.

[2] Thorpe, *Y.T.S.*, p. 456. Dasent, 89. Thorpe, p. 158 (Swedish, Danish, German, and Slav variants). Steere, p. 190. Similar stories must have been current in ancient Peru. The children of the sun, in

(2) In studying the Water of Life incident, we have seen how frequently it or some other treasure is the object of a quest by a king's three sons, of whom the youngest alone is successful. With an immense variety of detail, the main outlines of this story, as found in every European country, are these. The elder brothers refuse help at the outset to some man or animal, and soon after waste their substance in riotous living. Meanwhile the despised youngest son, who is sometimes a hunchback, obtains a reluctant permission to go on the quest. He pays his brothers' debts, rescues a princess from an ogre, and obtains the object of his quest. Returning, he again helps his brothers, who reward him by throwing him into a well and go off with princess and treasure. In some cases its virtue ceases, but it resumes its power as soon as the hero, rescued by the animal to whom he had given help, appears at the palace. After this he marries the princess, and his brothers are punished. In this form, with greater or less modification of detail, the story is found in Ireland, Scotland, Norway, Bohemia, Wallachia, Russia, Germany, Transylvania, Sweden, Austria, Poland, Sicily, France, Lithuania, and among the Magyars and Basques.[1]

In Hindu variants the seekers are usually sons of different mothers. Frequently the youngest son has

one version told by Cieza de Leon, jealous of their brother, shut him up in a hole in the ground, whence he emerged with wings, as Manco Capac, the ancestor of the Incas, and turned the treacherous brothers into stone.—*Second Part of the Chronicles of Peru*, p. 5.

[1] Kennedy, ii. 47. *Cf.* a curious Swedish version, where the magic articles are in possession of a loathsome toad whose servant the hero becomes. In the sequel she turns out to be an enchanted princess. Thorpe, *Y.T.S.*, p. 226. Campbell, i. 168. Asbjoernsen, p. 364. Chodzko, p. 285. Schott, No. 26. Ralston, p. 286. Grimm, No. 57. Haltrich, No. 7. Cavallius, No. 9. Vernaleken, Nos. 52, 53. Tœppen, 154. Gonzenbach, No. 64. Schleicher, 26. Cosquin, i. 208. Jones, p. 288; see p. 61. Webster, p. 180.

been banished with his mother, but accompanies his brothers in the quest, and in the sequel becomes his father's favourite son.[1] A Malagasy tale resembles this formula. Isilakoloma, who is half wood, is disinherited by his brother's advice, but his mother shares his banishment. Among the treasures which are sought are three witches, one of whom reveals to the king the brothers' jealousy, whereupon Isilakoloma is made heir and the brothers become his slaves.[2] A Kirghiz poem comes nearer to the European variants; the sons seek a magic nightingale, the youngest, Haemra, marries a peri, and with her aid finds it. He pays his brothers' debts; they blind him and throw him into a well. The bird reveals all to their father; unfortunately the rest is silence.[3]

(3) The next group also involves a quest, but differs considerably from the former. The introduction to the story varies: frequently it takes the form found in the Scots tale of Mally Whuppie, introducing three sisters who are sent from home. They come to a giant's house, and at night Mally notices that the giant puts straw ropes round their necks, but gold necklaces round his daughters' necks, and she wisely exchanges these when all are asleep, with the result that he kills his own daughters. This is, of course, the story of Hop o' my Thumb. They next come to a king's palace, and on telling the story the king says, "Mally, you are clever; steal the giant's sword, and I'll marry your eldest sister to my eldest son." With great difficulty Mally succeeds. She is then sent for his pillow, lastly for his ring, her reward to be marriage to the youngest prince. The giant captures her; she persuades his wife to take her place, escapes with the ring, and is duly married.[4] This

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, 1872, p. 115; 1875, p. 54.
[2] *F.L.J.*, ii. 129. [3] Radloff, iii. 535.
[4] Jacobs, p. 125; *cf.* p. 354 *supra.*

story is obviously based on others in which three brothers figure, who, in the commoner version, after the same or some other introduction, take service with the king. The elder brothers, as in the Esthonian version, are jealous of the hero, and tell the king how he has boasted of his prowess, whereupon the king sends him for the ogre's treasures.[1] The brothers intend that he should perish in the attempt. Unluckily for them, he succeeds, and it is they who perish, or, in other cases, have to remain in the very subordinate positions in which they find themselves, while the hero becomes heir to the throne, and marries the king's daughter. Norse, Swedish, Greek, Sicilian, and Italian variants exist; in the last the hero is the youngest of thirteen brothers.[2]

In Eastern and in some European variants jealous courtiers frequently replace the elder brothers,[3] but parallels to the European version exist. Persian and Turkish versions contain incidents from the Quest cycle. Three brothers receive their shares of their possessions and go abroad. The youngest helps his brothers over and over again, when they have squandered their wealth. They then set him adrift in a boat (Persian) or (Turkish) accuse him wrongfully to the sultan, who has him cast into a pit. The Persian version tells how jealous courtiers advised that he should be sent to seek for impossible objects; the Turkish makes him marry a princess, obtain immense wealth, and change his treacherous brothers into dogs.[4] A variant current among the

[1] Kirby, i. 187.

[2] Thorpe, *Y.T.S.*, p. 253. *Ibid.*, p. 142. Geldart, "Constantes and the Dragon." Gonzenbach, No. 83. Crane, p. 90. In an incomplete Scots version the two brothers drop out of the story, but the hero's adventures are the same. *F.L.J.*, iii. 270. For a Magyar version, see p. 242.

[3] For a Berber version with parallels, see Basset, No. 27 and notes. *Cf.* Cosquin, ii. 90. The European stories are usually of the Impostor cycle referred to on p. 57.

[4] Clouston, *E.R.*, p. 147, 493.

Avars of the Caucasus resembles the Scots story in the introduction, but has three brothers, the two elder of whom are very jealous of Tchilbik, the youngest, who has to bring the ogress's magical bed-cover, copper, she-goat, and finally the ogress herself, after which he marries the king's daughter.[1] In an Arab tale we have three brothers searching for a nightingale which petrifies all who come near it. The two eldest fail, the youngest succeeds, and restores them and many others to life. His jealous brothers fling him into a well, and take the glory of the deed, but the bird, having given him a magic ring, causes his escape, and he makes good his claim.[2]

(4) In the second cycle it has been seen how the elder brothers refuse help at the outset to some creature who asks it. This incident of the churlishness of the elder brothers is still more strongly marked in some stories, and leads directly to their hurt. A Basque hero, who rescued a princess from a seven-headed serpent, had already overcome a frightful bear which had killed his brothers. They had refused a piece of cake to a wise-woman who asked it; the youngest gave it, and obtained a magic rod by which alone the bear could be killed.[3] A Servian story illustrates the natural goodness of the youngest son, quite in the goody-goody story-book manner. Three brothers each give an angel, sent to provide them with better food, some pears. He then appears as a monk, and asks them to choose whatever they please. The eldest chooses that a river should become wine; the second that doves should become sheep; the third asks for a pure Christian wife. She is procured with difficulty. The elder brothers prosper; the youngest remains poor. The angel

[1] Schiefner, No. 3.
[2] Burton, *Supp. Nights*, iv. 244.
[3] Webster, p. 33.

tests all three; the first two refuse his modest requests, and lose all; the third gives him of his poverty, and is rewarded with a royal palace.[1] Christian conceptions have obviously coloured this tale. In Malagasy stories the incident of the churlish brothers is a favourite one. I have already referred to this; the story of The Seven Brothers is another excellent instance. Seven brothers were suitors for one girl. Six refused aid to certain animals, insulting them at the same time. They failed in performing the tasks set them by the girl's father, and returned home disconsolate. The youngest now went, and on the way gave honey to the wasp and fly, rice to the lark, manioc to the pig, and rice to the grêbe. These animals assist him in the tasks, and he wins the girl. The story goes on to relate how, when his child was born, the brothers lowered the hero into a caiman's den, from which he escaped with its treasure, thus becoming rich while his brothers were impoverished.[2]

(5) In this and the next cycle we have mainly three sisters instead of three brothers, but the *rationale* of the stories is precisely the same. I shall here refer to the Cinderella group, where the commoner versions make the despised girl the step-sister of the others. Other versions, which connect the Cinderella group with the next, or Jealous Sisters cycle, make the three girls daughters of one mother. The Greek variant introduces a unique cannibalistic episode. The mother prefers her youngest daughter; the two elder daughters thereupon kill and eat their mother. When the heroine is married to the prince, and her child is born, they stick a needle into her head and bury her, one of them, Maro, now taking

[1] Mijatovich, p. 74.

[2] Ferrand, p. 102. *Cf.* p. 243; and for other instances, *F.L.J.*, 1883, 1884.

her place. A bird emerges from the grave and taunts the impostor, who asks the husband to shoot it; three drops of blood fall; from them an apple-tree springs up, as in the Egyptian Two Brothers cycle. In one of the apples the true bride is found, and Maro is ground to powder.[1] An Albanian story takes another form. Fatima is hated by her sisters, because the sun says she is the prettiest. To get rid of her they desert her in a forest where forty thieves find her, and are so struck by her beauty that they make her their cook. The sisters now send her various articles in succession which cause her death, but she is restored to life on their removal from her body. Lastly, they send her a ring, and this time, as the robbers do not see it, she remains dead, and her coffin in placed on a tree. A king passing that way discovers it, and carries it off. In time Fatima becomes thinner; the ring drops off; life is restored, and the king marries her.[2] This tale is found in Madagascar, but there the girl dreams that the son of the sun wishes to marry her because she is so beautiful. The sisters ask everyone if she is pretty, and everywhere find the same opinion. At last, to compass her death they bid her gather vegetables from the monster Itrimobe's garden. She is caught, and he intends to eat her, but she escapes, and returning home becomes her parents' pet, the other sisters being disowned.[3]

In a Micmac story the youngest of three sisters is cruelly treated by the others. In the same village lives an invisible being who will marry the first girl who can see him. The two sisters try their luck along with everyone else, but signally fail. The

[1] Garnett, ii. 116. In the usual cannibalistic Cinderella stories the mother is changed into a cow and then eaten, see p. 297.

[2] Dozon, p. 1. Note the sepulture on a tree—a genuine savage custom. Grimm's story of Little Snow White is a variant of this, see chap. ii., p. 351.

[3] *F.L.J.*, i. 223. For the pursuit by the monster, see p. 177.

youngest then begged some clothes and, in spite of taunts and jeers, went off to the invisible man's hut. She alone saw him, and became the most beautiful girl in the world and the wife of the Invisible One whose sledstring was the rainbow and his bowstring the milky way.[1]

The usual Cinderella tale occurs with the three sister formula in Malagasy tradition, and is of ancient date. The sisters set out to seek the hoped-for bridegroom; the pretty youngest girl is ill-treated by the others, and made their slave. But three times running a rat gives her exquisite clothes, and on the third evening, golden slippers, one of which she leaves behind. By this means she is discovered; her sisters are chased away, and turn into lizards.[2]

(6) Of this, the Jealous Sisters cycle, there are three groups. The first may be represented by a Sicilian story. A king's son overheard three sisters talking. "If I married the prince," said the first, "I would satisfy a whole regiment with four *grani* of bread." "And I," said the second, "would quench their thirst with a single glass of wine." "As for me," said the youngest, "I would give him two children, a boy with a golden apple in his hand, and a girl with a golden star on her forehead." The prince thereupon married the youngest, and during his absence she gave birth to children such as those she had described. Her jealous sisters wrote to the prince saying she had borne a dog and a cat. He replied that they must be drowned, and the children were thrown into the sea. Thence they were rescued and, after many adventures restored to their mother, when her sisters were duly punished.[3] There are

[1] Leland, *A.L.*, p. 303, who thinks a local solar myth has been welded with a French-Canadian tale. Why a solar myth?

[2] Ferrand, p. 123.

[3] Crane, p. 17.

Catalanian, German, Tyrolese, Italian, Georgian, Albanian, Avar, and Arab versions of this story; in the four last the prince marries all the sisters, but the elder ones cannot keep their promise.[1] In others, Breton, Hungarian, and Serbian, the elder sisters say they would like to marry the king's servants; the youngest says she wishes to marry the prince, and will bring him wonderful children.[2] Italian, Armenian, Westphalian, Basque, and Icelandic stories omit the last condition, but the girl does give birth to wonderful children.[3] Usually the poor wife is set outside the palace to be trampled and spit upon, because she has not kept her promise and has given birth to animals, puppies or kittens. In an Esthonian variant the introduction is different, and there is only one sister, whom the king marries after the heroine has been thrown with one of her children into the sea. By this child's means the sister's wickedness is discovered, and wife and children are all restored.[4] Usually the fate of the jealous sisters is horrible. This is one of the most popular stories in the whole range of folk-tales, but sometimes the heroine is thus maltreated, not by sisters, but by her jealous friends, by the queen-mother, or in Eastern, Malagasy, and Basuto stories, by the other wives, though in some cases these are her own sisters. I quote the Basuto tale, which M. Jacottet thinks may be original. A chief had on his breast the image of the full moon, and one day announced to his wives that the first would have a son similarly marked, and the others children with

[1] Maspons, p. 38. Prœhle, i. No. 3. Zingerle, ii. 157. Finamore, No. 39. Wardrop, p. 5. Dozon, p. 7. Schiefner, No. 12. Cosquin, i. 196.

[2] *Mélusine*, 1877, p. 206. Jones, p. 11. Gaal, p. 390. Jagitch, No. 25.

[3] Finamore, No. 55. Garnett, ii. 453. Grimm, No. 96. Webster, p. 176. Arnason, p. 427.

[4] Kirby, ii. 10. For the children's adventures in stories of this cycle, see p. 59 *supra*, "The Water of Life."

crescent moons or stars. The jealous second wife makes an old woman place a puppy beside the mother of the boy with the moon; he is thrown aside, but ants take care of him. One day he is seen by this wife, and she, pretending illness, tells her husband that the hut where the ants are must be burned down, as the ants cause her illness. This is done, but the ants have already carried off the child to an ox. He, in turn, is killed, as are the crabs to whom he has handed on the child. They give him to some traders, one of whom tells the chief. All is then discovered; the mother, who has become the second wife's servant, is reinstated, and the jealous woman banished. This story has affinities with the cycle in which a jealous wife causes the death of children, throughout their different transformations.[1]

Some tales of the Beauty and Beast or Cupid and Psyche group make the breach of tabu by which the wife loses her husband result directly from the malicious advice given her by the jealous elder sisters, while in these and in the Frog Bridegroom group, it is always the youngest of three sisters who is preferred by the mysterious suitor.[2] In the classical

[1] Jacottet, p. 226. The animal-birth slander appears in another cycle discussed in the chapter on "The Water of Life," p. 59. A West African tale bears a certain resemblance to these Jealous Sister stories. Several wives of a king eat the "medicine" of fertility which he has procured them, including a slave wife of whom the chief wife was jealous. The king went off on a journey and sent all his wives to their respective families till his return. The slave has no home, but is magically provided for in the forest, and there gives birth to a son. On the return of the king it is found that all the wives except the slave and her friend have borne animals. The queen, therefore, takes the slave's baby, substituting for it the snails she herself has borne. But it refuses nourishment, and the king, enlightened by his wizard, suggests a ceremony by which each offspring will know its own mother. The slave then becomes queen, and the jealous woman is sent away for ever.—Nassau, p. 332, "Queen Ngwe-nkonde and her Manja."

[2] See pp. 269, 326.

version of Cupid and Psyche the sisters advise the bride to light a candle so that she may see the mysterious husband, and in consequence she loses him; this occurs in an Italian tale as well.[1] In Greek and Italian variants the sisters tell her not to drink the coffee with which he drugs her; she obeys them and keeps awake.[2] Sometimes (Lorraine, Italian) they wring the secret from her, and the husband perishes miserably, or disappears; while in a Sicilian story they tell her to ask his name.

(7) A Basque story illustrates the next group, usually called "The Value of Salt." A certain king had three daughters, and like King Lear asked them how much they loved him. "As much as my little finger," said the eldest; "as much as my middle finger," said the second; "as much as bread loves the salt," said the youngest. In a rage her father sent her to the forest to be killed, but the servants set her free and killed a horse instead, taking its heart home in place of the girl's. For a time she lived in the forest on plants and flowers brought her by bees and birds, but at last a king's son found her, and insisted on marrying her. At the wedding, to which her father was invited, she gave him bread without salt and then revealed herself, when he acknowledged the wrong he had done.[3] Of this tale there are Flemish, Hungarian, Spanish, Italian, German, and Indian variants,[4] all closely resembling this, but usually the girl goes through many adventures, as in the English Cap o' Rushes, where she takes service as a scullion, dressed in a garment made of rushes, and attends a neighbouring dance

[1] Apuleius, *The Golden Ass.* Crane, p. 6.

[2] Garnett, ii. 277. Basile, i. 211.

[3] Webster, p. 165.

[4] *Bib. de T.P. Esp.*, viii. 175. Busk, p. 403; Crane, p. 333. Grimm, No. 179. Stokes, p. 164.

three times in the clothes which she wears beneath her dress of rushes. Her master's son gives her a ring, which she afterwards sends up to table in a dish, and is discovered. Then follows the wedding and the banquet, at which every dish is unsalted.[1] On the simple framework of such a story as the Basque example a Cinderella version has been grafted, giving such a composite story as this. The elder sisters are here neither malicious nor wicked: in an Italian version it is they who spare their sister in the forest. A Buddhist version is of a more sinister type, and deals with five brothers, four of whom are hostile to the youngest. They fail in trading; he succeeds, but leaves home because they plot to kill him. He next appears married to three princesses, when his parents and brothers come to him in great poverty and are supported by him. All this, in accordance with Jaina belief, is due to his merit in a former existence, and in the sequel he is reborn as a god. An earlier folk-tale of the salt type has obviously been made use of to enforce Buddhist doctrine.[2] A Basuto tale has so many points of likeness with this class, that I cite it here. Modisa was the youngest and despised child, and her parents at last drove her from home. As she wandered off she was magically supplied with food, and dressing herself in grass, arrived at a hut in which no one seemed to dwell, where again she continued to get food, which came whenever she

[1] Jacobs, p. 51. An interesting study of this and the next cycle will be found in *F.L.J.*, iv. 308, "The Outcast Child," by Mr Hartland. For a Suffolk Cap o' Rushes story, see *County Folk-Lore: Suffolk*, p. 40.

[2] Tawney, p. 78. A story from Agenais, in which the youngest daughter, who likes her father as much as he likes salt, supports him when his elder daughters send him adrift in the world, connects this cycle with the mediæval story of Lear in Geoffrey of Monmouth, and of the Emperor Theodosius and his daughter. Bladé, p. 31. *Cf.* Mr Hartland's paper on "The Outcast Child."

wished it. At night she was visited by an invisible man (the owner of the hut), to whom in due time she bears a son. This man is very rich, and at last she sees him and his relations. He sends famine upon her village, and her contemptuous parents and sisters have to come to her begging for food like Joseph's brethren. They are sent away with sacks full of filth; only her grandmother, who once was kind to her, gets proper food.[1]

(8) The next group has much resemblance to this. There are several Eastern versions, of which the following from Kashmir is typical. A king asked his four sons by whose good fortune it was that he possessed such a great kingdom. "By his own," said the three eldest; "By mine," said the youngest, and for his answer he was banished. After a strange career, in which he gained honours and wives in different lands, he heard that his father and brothers had lost the kingdom and were languishing in prison. Having collected an army, he repelled the enemy and reinstated his father, who acknowledged that, after all, he had spoken the very truth, and resigned the kingdom to him.[2] The same story is found in India and Persia.[3] European variants have a different

[1] Jacottet, p. 136. Another Basuto story has some resemblance to this. The Master of the Waters refuses to supply a village with water unless the chief's daughter is sent to be his wife. She goes, but sees no one. A voice speaks to her, and in her sleep a hut is built over her. After her child is born she is permitted to go home, and returns with her sister, who beats the child when it cries; then the husband ceases to be invisible. A similar incident occurs in the story in the text. This tale is linked to the Beauty and the Beast cycle, and also to the Dragon cycle, because, in a variant, it is a yellow serpent which stops the supply. *Cf.* p. 405 *infra*. Jacottet, p. 178.

[2] Knowles, p. 355. In another Kashmir tale the younger of two girls is married to a thief's servant, because she said fate was greater than duty; but becoming wealthy, she had the satisfaction of hearing her father agree with her opinion. *Ibid.*, p. 326. *Cf.* Tawney, p. 184.

[3] Miss Stokes, p. 193.

introduction, as in a Serbian tale, where the king asks his three sons to note their dreams. The first dreams he will be heir; the second, the chief subject; the third, that his brothers will hold a basin and his mother a towel before him, and his father will wash his hands. In the sequel all this comes true, because meanwhile the youth returns resplendent.[1] This story, with the prophetic dream, is found in Italy, Greece, Brazil, and elsewhere; in a Siberian variant, the parents dreamt of as lean camels are reduced to poverty, and beg of their son, who kills them because they were cruel to him, and gives his wives his father's flesh to eat.[2] It is possible that the biblical story of Joseph has suggested the formula of this group, which then spread from land to land; others have supposed that Joseph's dream, if not his whole history, is a Hebrew saga variant of the group.

(9) In another group of stories the youngest son appears as the most fortunate of the three brothers, as in the following Norse tale. To the youngest of three brothers it was granted that all women would fall in love with him; to the others, that whenever they put their hands in their pockets they would find money. They travelled together, but the elder brothers would not share their money with the youngest; three amorous hostesses in succession gave him magical objects. All arrived at a certain place, where the king welcomed the rich brothers, but, because of his rags, sent the youngest to the "fool's island." There the king's daughter discovered him, and by means of his magical objects he won her love and married her, his selfish brothers being sent to take his place on the island. Success in love is also ascribed to the youngest of four brothers in a Maori

[1] Mijatovich, p. 237.

[2] Pitré, i. 87 (daughters); Finamore, i. 83. Hahn, i. 258. Roméro, p. 12. Gubernatis, *Z.M.*, i. 139.

story. The beautiful Hinernoa loved Tutane, and promised to cross to his island and be his wife. One night his brothers boasted that they had obtained her favours; he angrily denied it, and swore she loved him alone. They scoffed at him; "you are a younger son only, one whom a chief's daughter could never marry." That very night Hinernoa swam across the strait, and at dawn, pretending to be a man, broke the gourds which Tutane's slave was filling with water. Tutane came to punish the man and found his lover, whom he made his wife, to the disgust of his elder brothers.[1] So in Polynesian mythology, Maui, the successful culture-hero, is also a youngest son.

(10) Sometimes the cleverness of the youngest son is emphasised. In a Basque story three brothers in succession take service with the same master. He sets them difficult tasks, which the two elders are unable to perform, and they are sent home, according to the terms made, with a strip of skin taken out of their backs. The youngest brother performs the tasks, but to get rid of him the master sends him to a place where the monster Tartaro will catch him. He overcomes the ogre, and in consequence his master has to pay him enormous wages, which he shares with his mother and brothers. This Basque story is interesting because it illustrates a widely-spread group, in which the bargain is made with the master that whoever displays anger at the engagement, will lose his eyes, nose, and ears, or a strip of skin from his back. The youngest brother alone keeps his temper, leads his master a terrible life, *e.g.*, selling his cattle, and pretending they have been stolen; and in several cases killing his wife, who feigns herself to be the bird whose note is to terminate the engagement. At last the master can contain himself no longer, gives vent to

[1] Thorpe, *Y.T.S.*, p. 280. Clarke, p. 57.

his anger, and the hero has the best of the bargain.[1] In Breton and Lorraine tales there are only two brothers, but these as well as Russian, Greek, Italian, Corsican, Spanish, Picard, German, Moravian, Lithuanian, and Irish tales, full of rollicking humour, follow the story as detailed here.[2] The Afghans tell how a youth entered the service of a master on these conditions. The master must give him each day a plough and a pair of oxen, while the youth must sow every day a basket of seed, as well as bring food for the family and a certain quantity of firewood. Whoever failed first would lose his nose. This happened to the youth the very first day, and his younger brother now took his place. He performed his task, but broke the plough and killed an ox, so that next day his master could not fulfil his part, and lost his nose. There are Indian and Kashmir variants, the former bearing the closest likeness to the European versions.[3] In all we may perhaps see the fossil survival of some primitive form of servitude and its conditions. Cutting a strip of skin occurs as a punishment in Celtic tales, and Campbell refers it to a form of torture once used by the Scandinavians.[4]

(11) The next cycle of stories throws some light upon the origin of the idea of the despised but clever youngest son. A Mingrelian story illustrates its typical form. A king had three sons and three daughters. "When I die," said he, "let each of you watch by my tomb for a week, and give these maidens to whoso shall ask for them." The

[1] Webster, p. 11.

[2] Luzel, p. 29. Cosquin, ii. 47. Ralston, 146. Hahn, No. 11. Ortoli, p. 203. *Biblioteca de las Trad. pop. espân.*, iv. 139. Carnoy, p. 316. Proehle, ii. 16. Wenzig, p. 5. Schleicher, p. 45. Kennedy, ii. 74.

[3] Thorburn, *Bannu, or our Afghan Frontier*, p. 199. *Calcutta Review*, li. 126. Knowles, p. 98.

[4] Campbell, ii. 14, 23.

first night the eldest prince saw something swoop down, dig up his father's corpse, weep over it all night, and then reinter it. Next day he said nothing; the same adventure happened to the second brother, who also kept silence. Meanwhile, the youngest son had given his sisters to three strange suitors. His brothers were displeased, and scoffed at him when he claimed his turn to watch. At last they allowed him to take his turn. The visitant appeared; he killed it with his sword, but as the blood put out his candle he went to relight it at a fire which he saw in the distance. This was the fire of certain demis or spirits, who forced him to accompany them and capture a king's three daughters. He climbed up the ladder first, and then killed them one by one as they ascended. He gave the maidens each a ring and stuck his sword in a stone. Next day the king sent to see who could pull out the sword. Our hero alone succeeded, and to him and his brothers the princesses were given in marriage. Meanwhile his wife was stolen by a master-demi, whom he finally overcame, after many adventures in which he was assisted by the husbands of his sisters, who were themselves demis. Greek and Albanian stories bear the closest resemblance to this tale;[1] in others, *e.g.*, the Esthonian, the incidents differ. A father bade his three sons watch by his grave. The youngest, scorned by his brothers, alone did so, and each night his father's soul told him that whatever he wished for he would obtain by striking on the grave. He thus got three horses, which carried him to the top of a crystal mountain on which was a sleeping princess, whom he married. His brothers died of rage and envy. There are Georgian, Russian, Polish, Finnish,

[1] Wardrop, p. 112. Legrand, p. 145. Dozon, p. 121. The test by which the hero is discovered occurs in a Senegambian ballad, see p. 388. So Arthur was made king when he drew the magic sword from a stone, just as Sigismund in the *Volsunga saga* did.

Norse, and Avar versions of this story: in the Russian the father himself comes out of the grave, shakes the damp earth off his body, and whistles on the horses; while in most the other brothers vainly attempt to win the coveted bride.[1] A tale from a distant part of the world which, presumably, has not been influenced by those just cited, may be referred to here as showing how similar incidents may have arisen independently. Klieng, the divine hero of the Dyaks, and his four brothers went hunting. The youngest, Limbang, was told to stay behind and cook; instead of doing this he ran on in front and killed a pig. When the brothers came up, they sent him to get a light from a fire burning in the distance. Having obtained it, he was met by Gua, a cannibal giant, who made him his prisoner, but treated him kindly. Limbang had to provide him with food, and waken him with blows from a sledge-hammer. The giant provided Limbang with a female helper; her rings and cup were lost while bathing, and floated down stream. A Malay obtained them, and sent for her to be his wife. The remainder of the story tells of the subsequent fighting between this Malay and his forces and the giant, helped by Limbang. Klieng assisted the Malay, and the two brothers once more met. Here the incidents of the light and the capture are almost identical with those in the tales just cited.[2]

[1] Kirby, ii. 40. Wardrop, p. 140. Ralston, p. 256. Dasent, pp. 13, 40. Schiefner, No. 4. The glass mountain was suggested by pagan Slavonic belief. See p. 442 *infra*.

[2] Ling Roth, i. 328. Still closer is the resemblance to the Magyar story of The Hunting Princes (Jones, p. 39), who do nothing but hunt all day long. The youngest is sent to get a light, and is captured by robbers, the story then proceeding as in the Mingrelian and other variants. The incident of desire awakened in a man by the sight of a woman's ornaments (or hair) floating down stream has been met with in the Egyptian tale of The Two Brothers. It occurs in many Eastern stories, and recalls the slipper incident in Cinderella tales

Another series, corresponding in the later incidents to the Mingrelian story, opens differently. A widow and her sons, too poor to pay for masses for the dead father, are haunted by his spirit, and while seeking to deliver themselves, usually by a pilgrimage, lose the youngest brother. He is taken by giants or robbers, and forced to assist them in abducting a princess or in stealing from a king. He kills them and marries the princess. We find this form, with variations in detail, in Lorraine, Tyrol, Hungary, Serbia, Germany, Italy, Greece, and Albania.[1]

The stories in which the dead father assists his son recall the Cinderella stories of the dead mother type, while they point to beliefs, common in Slavonic countries as well as among the Celts, about the dead dweller in the tomb coming forth to assist or to terrify the living.[2]

We have now to inquire how these stories of the youngest son or daughter overcoming the treachery or jealousy of the elders, or of his or her superior cleverness or good luck, arose. Obviously they are intended to excite our sympathy for the despised youngest son. This may be thought to arise from the idea that the youngest, being *ipso facto* despised and poor, ought to succeed in life better than the others, by way of compensation. Being youngest, he excites sympathy. We must not overlook this, nor another reason suggested by Mr Lang, viz., that "in adventures, if there is to be accumulating interest, some one must fail; the elder sons would attempt the

Both suggest sympathetic magic, with its doctrine of the part influencing or hinting of the whole. For some shoe-lore, see Leland, *Gypsy Sorcery*, p. 112.

[1] Cosquin, ii. 69. Zingerle, i. No. 33. Busk, p. 167. *Archiv. für Slav. Phil.*, ii. 614. Grimm, No. 111.

[2] For this belief, see Ralston, *R.F.T. passim*, and Curtin, p. 156 *seq.* *Cf.* the Norse saga which tells how Hervor obtained the sword Tirfing from the barrow of the dead father, by force of her entreaties to him.

adventure first; consequently the youngest must be the successful hero."[1] True, but this does not apply to all the story-groups; and what if the sympathy for the youngest born had once taken the practical form of making him the heir, from which position he was gradually ousted by the changing social state and the introduction of a new system of inheritance? The feeling for the youngest son would then take a more sentimental form; he would be the youth despoiled of his rights, and in the eyes of many, especially of mothers, the heir *de facto* though not *de jure*. This I take with Elton and with Mr Lang at an earlier stage of his folk-lore career to be the point of departure for the youngest son formula.[2]

In several of the groups we see the elder brothers depriving the youngest, not of his inheritance, but of the credit which ought to be his. In spite of this he wins it, and attains the highest place and honour. But in a few stories we find that they do deprive him of his share of the inheritance. This occurs in a Norse story. The youngest of twelve sons went to seek his fortune, and on his return found his father dead and the inheritance divided among his brothers, who only gave him twelve mares. The foal of one of these is the cause of his good fortune, and wins him the hand of a princess. The introduction to a Norse variant of the third group tells how the two elders took all, while Boots, the youngest, only got the kneading-trough, which, however, turned out to have magical powers, and performed the tasks which the king set him at the instigation of his jealous brothers. It is curious to find the same idea in Senegambia. There the beloved youngest son is despoiled of his share by the elders, who find him sleeping, and say that as he has chosen sleep, he must

[1] Introduction to Miss Cox's *Cinderella*, xiii.

[2] Elton, *Origins of English History*, p. 184. Lang's *Perrault*, xcviii.

be content with it. One day he saw the eldest brother asleep, and killed him, saying that he had stolen his share, viz., sleep, and according to law, must die. The second brother at once fled, and the youngest became their heir. So in a Bengal tale three brothers turn out the youngest son and their mother, whose favourite he is, and take possession of the estate. In the sequel he won great riches and a beautiful wife.[1]

Stories such as these point, at first sight, to nothing more than unfraternal feeling, but this still leaves unexplained why it is the youngest son who is so persistently set forth as the object of our sympathy. We find the answer in this, that at one time he was the most important member of the family. We are so accustomed to the law of primogeniture, that it is impossible to imagine a time when the eldest son did not necessarily inherit first and when the youngest son was the principal heir. Yet certain fossilised survivals of this time in lands where primogeniture is the rule, as well as the actual custom itself persisting among certain peoples, prove that such a method of inheritance was once as usual and as natural as that to which we are now accustomed.

The custom as it survives in England is called Borough-English, in France Maineté and Juveignerie, in Germany Jüngsten-recht. Borough-English

[1] Thorpe, *Y.T.S.*, p. 253. Bérenger-Féraud, *Contes*, p. 117. Day, p. 224. *Cf.* a Malagasy tale, where the eldest gets much, "because of his seniority," the second less, and the third least, "because of his being the youngest." He goes off and complains to God, follows His instructions, and becomes rich. His brothers also go to God, but rejecting the advice given, are changed to lemurs.—*F.L.J.*, ii. 75. *Cf.* an Aino story, where a father, in the younger son's absence, dies, leaving directions that the elder should divide the property equally. On the younger's return, the elder will give him nothing. Off he went to Hades to interview his father's ghost, and found out how his rights had been disregarded. Returning, he told his brother what he had done, and the latter apologised, and gave him his share.—Batchelor, p. 228.

in England varies in extent according to local laws affecting manorial rights; the most definite instance is found on the manor of Taunton-Dene in Somersetshire, where, if a tenant die without a widow, and leaves more sons than one, "the youngest hath used to inherit the lands as sole heir to his father; and so likewise of daughters, if he die without issue male, the youngest daughter ought to inherit the same as sole heir to her father."[1] Sometimes, as in Kent, the right of the youngest son is less marked, but is important, since the manorial law allots to him or to the youngest daughter, "the *hearth place* in the homestead and as far as forty feet around it."[2] However much these tenures vary, we see in all, says Elton, "a curious preference for the youngest son or daughter over the other heirs." So the ancient Welsh laws of Hoel allot to the youngest son the homestead, with eight acres of land, and the best of the implements—hatchet, boiler, and ploughshare; in Shetland he received the dwelling-house; and in Ireland he was given the harp and chessboard.[3]

In France we find, at Grimberghe in Brabant, the whole paternal property given to the youngest son; in other cases, only certain important pieces of furniture were his by right. This is also true of Germanic instances; as in Westphalia, Silesia, and Wurtemburg the succession was vested in the youngest son; elsewhere he received only certain "hofgüter" without question. Similar survivals may be traced in Russia and in Hungary;[4] it is the

[1] Collinson, *Hist. of Somerset*, iii. 233; Elton, p. 194. Borough-English continued in Leicester till 1255, when, on the petition of the inhabitants, the earl granted a change in the method of inheritance.—Thompson, *Eng. Mon. Hist.*, p. 62.

[2] Elton, p. 189.

[3] Wallace's *Orkney*, p. 91. O'Curry, *Manners of Ancient Irish*, i. Intro. clxxix.

[4] Elton, pp. 195-8. Hearn, *Aryan Household*, p. 82. Robertson, *Early Kings of Scotland*, ii. 266.

general custom among the Saxons of Transylvania that the youngest son should receive the house and yard.[1]

Of the actual existence of the practice among primitive peoples there are several instances. Herodotus speaks of it as occurring among the Scythians; certain Mongol tribes are bound by it; with the Northern Tchuds the house of the chief of the family goes to the youngest son at death. An echo of this may be found in what Alberic says of Prester John, that, though least of his brethren, he was set above them. The custom among the nomadic Tartars is that the youngest son receives the paternal estate, flocks, and movables, the elder sons having already been assigned their shares, and having formed separate households. The preference for the youngest as heir is also found in Arakan, among the Mros of Arawak, while with the Singhpos, though the eldest son inherits lands, the youngest gets all personal effects, intermediate sons receiving nothing.[2]

These survivals over definite European areas, as well as the existence of the custom elsewhere, prove that we are face to face with no mere eccentricity of inheritance; they suggest that this may once have been a universal law. Various reasons have been assigned for the existence of this law. Blackstone and Robertson cite several, and incline to the opinion that the elder sons, having become *pars reipublicæ* and ceased to be *pars domûs*, had received an allotment of public land, while the youngest remained with his father to carry on the household. Littleton explains it by saying that after the death of his parents the youngest son would

[1] E. Gerard, i. 207.

[2] Herod. iv. 5, 10. Bastian, *Rechts verhaltnesse*, p. 185. Alberic, *Trium Fontium Chronicon*, ii. 508. Letourneau, *Evol. of Property*, p. 325.

be least likely to take care of himself, and hence his maintenance was made sure by casting the inheritance upon him. Mr Gomme and others think it due to the fact that the elders (as in the case of the nomadic Tartars) had gone out to found new homesteads, the father's homestead being then reserved for the youngest son.[1] Perhaps the story of Jacob and Esau—Esau the elder going off to found a new family and home, Jacob the younger staying at home and becoming heir—is a reminiscence of this, but coloured to suit a later age, in which primogeniture was the rule, and some explanation of Esau's disinheritance was needed. Elton derives the practice from the domestic religion centring in ancestral worship and consequent reverence for the hearth, with people who saw no natural pre-eminence in the eldest.

This view is probably the best explanation. It suggests that on the youngest son devolved the rites of the worship of the departed father, and as such rites were invariably connected with the hearth as the rallying-place of the home, the hearth and homestead naturally became his by right. We have seen how the homestead is given to the youngest son, while in certain cases explicit reference is made to the hearth. Folk-tales show that the connection of the youngest child with the hearth had by no means been forgotten; Cinderella, Cinder-jack, the Norse Boots, all have their natural place at the fireside. It has become a position of degradation; but once it was the place of honour. Nor is this quite forgotten, for from it the despised hero or heroine is taken directly to place and power. As for the funeral rites

[1] Hearn, *Aryan Household*, p. 83. Robertson, *Early Kings*, ii. 269. *Archæologia*, i. 1857. In the Esthonian *Kalevipoeg* the elder sons go off when the father declares that his yet unborn son is to be his heir, but later he and they fight for the heirship.—Kirby, i. 18; *cf.* canto 8.

and the ritual of ancestral worship devolving on the youngest-born, the Cinderella tales, in which the gifts are directly supplied to the despised child from the parent's grave, may be a survival. But there is no doubt of the survival in the stories of the eleventh group. In some, all the sons share the watch by the grave, but the youngest is more wakeful; it is to him that the dead father gives the gifts which bring success; while in others he alone keeps watch, as if it was his right alone to do so.

It has been seen how the law of Jüngsten-recht sometimes allotted certain definite articles to the youngest born. Some of our stories, as the Norse one of the magic kneading-trough, are a reminiscence of this. But Elton has shown that such articles may have had a religious significance, since the mandrake which brought good luck became in mediæval German households the property of the youngest son on condition that he performed certain ancient rites at his father's grave.

How did it happen that no natural pre-eminence should have been seen in the eldest son? At first, and while descent was counted through the mother, a man's sons are not his heirs, the heir is invariably his sister's son. While a sister's son would certainly be related to a man by blood, his wife's children would be less so—this uncertainty surviving from the time when promiscuity prevailed. This is the usual explanation; but it is not at all unlikely that there was no question of uncertainty, but, as with the Arunta of Central Australia, that there existed absolute ignorance of what caused conception. Be this as it may, with the rise of the patriarchate, possibly caused by clearer ideas of affiliation, the question of inheritance would at once arise. Who was to succeed the father? It is far from unlikely that the youngest born was chosen, because he was nearer his father in time, more

especially if the elder sons had already swarmed off. Even now in polygamous countries the child of the favourite wife is the heir, or, as among the Kafirs, the chief's inheritance devolves on the child of the latest wife. The time came, however, when the usual form of the patriarchate, viz., primogeniture, arose, and the eldest son was preferred before the youngest. This, however, cannot have occurred all at once; there may even have been a time when, as with the Singhpos, eldest and youngest were nearly equal. But the gradual change would be accelerated by the natural desire of the elders to claim what was now deemed their right, and to oust the youngest son, who would be despised. Lost causes and disinherited princes often excite much sympathy, and with many the heir *de facto* may also have been considered as still the heir *de jure*. If he were the son of a chief, it is conceivable that he may have rallied a party round him and won by force what had once been his by right. In any case there must have been felt for him much sympathy, and it was given definite form. Hence it is to this period, when the law of primogeniture was superseding that of Jüngsten-recht, and when the claim of the youngest was not yet forgotten, that we must ascribe the early forms of the stories of the youngest son. He is pictured as a simpleton, despised, ill-treated, the victim of evil plots. His elder brothers are his natural enemies; even his father is not always his friend. But he invariably ends by proving himself the cleverest; he wins his way by valour; beautiful women smile upon him; he overcomes the wiles of his jealous and treacherous brothers; he comes into his kingdom after all, and they receive their just punishment. We might almost say that such stories had been invented to stem the tide of the new law; at all events they became immensely popular, and long after the time of the conflicting heirships had passed, the formula of

the despised but clever youngest son was attached to new stories, and became almost the inevitable introduction to a vast series of folk-tales. Sometimes the formula varies, and introduces a youngest daughter and her sisters. This need not have been done merely for the sake of variety; we have seen how Borough-English sometimes respected the youngest daughter's claim.

Our theory receives illustration from Kafir custom and folk-tale. The chief's heir is the child of his youngest wife. Of the other wives, one is called "the right-hand wife," and her son, when he comes of age, has part of the government given to him so long as the heir is a minor. Often he abuses his position, and attempts to defraud the heir and obtain the chieftaincy. From this actual occurrence have arisen many tales of the perfidy of the elder son and the ultimate triumph of the true heir. What has happened in South Africa has happened elsewhere, and is the key to the central incident of our tales.[1]

In view of this, the complete stories of the Perseus and Andromeda cycle, with their incidents (1) of three sons born to one mother, (2) the eldest rescuing a princess exposed to a monster, and marrying her, (3) he and his second brother being petrified by a witch, and (4) both being rescued by the youngest brother, form an interesting study. The last two incidents frequently occur as a separate folk-tale, with (as here) the youngest as hero. But the rescue of the princess also occurs separately, and it is then ascribed to the youngest of three brothers after the two elder brothers have failed. They put him out of the way and claim the reward, but are confuted in time. When both incidents were welded together the right of the eldest son had been firmly established, and he is made the princess's rescuer. But the claim of the youngest-born was still unforgotten. Hence he acts

[1] Rev. J. Macdonald in *Folk-Lore*, iii. 338.

as rescuer of his brothers; while another incident suggests that jealous treatment meted out to him by his brothers in other tales. That incident is the killing of his rescuer by the jealous brother when he finds that, having been mistaken for the real husband because he is so like him, he has been forced to occupy the bridal couch. Discovering, however, that he had placed the sword of chastity between himself and his brother's wife, and that he had been even more innocent of offence than the sixth century monks with the *mulieres sub-introductæ*, over whom Bayle and Gibbon make so merry, the elder brother at once restored him to life, and things were made happy all round.

The rescue of two brothers by their youngest brother is a common folk-tale formula, as has been seen in discussing the Water of Life cycle, but as a rule the elder brothers (except as just suggested) are not malicious. This formula, then, may have been derived from Jüngsten-recht stories with a purpose. A North American Indian story, which belongs to this group, may be thus explained, or may simply be an example of the "accumulating interest" theory. The spirits of all dead bears return to the mountain in which lives the great bear chief. He is much annoyed at the number of his servants killed by two brothers, whose father had decried their powers as hunters. By a clever stratagem the bear chief entices them both into his mountain, and afterwards causes the death of their parents, who had come to look for them. He would have turned the youths into bears, but his sister interceded for them, and he only transformed their arms and legs into the corresponding limbs of a bear, by rubbing them with moss. Their youngest brother now set out to seek them with his little dog. With his magic arrow he shot at the mountain, and it fell in ruins, destroying the chief and his bears; the chief's sister

was spared for her kindness. When the boy discovered his brothers, he was unable to devise any means to relieve them of the enchantment, until the chief's sister told him to make them smell some of the moss. He held it near their nostrils, and the bear-skin fell from their limbs.[1] This story has not apparently been borrowed from outside sources. At all events it is included in the mythological cycle which relates the deeds of the demi-god Manabush, and perhaps was once recited to the candidates for initiation to the mysteries of the Menomini Indians, as other myths of the cycle still are. If the tale is not derivative, it is an interesting example of a story, suggesting the formulæ of European *Märchen*, and yet "honest Injun."

Long after the claim of the youngest son had passed away, the tellers of folk-tales found some variety in making the youngest son the villain. Thus in a dragon story from Lorraine he acts as an impostor, and says he has rescued the princess; while, in a Tuscan tale, he personates his brother, who is enchanted, and lives with his wife. Again, the eldest brother acts like the youngest in a Hungarian *Märchen*, choosing an ungainly foal, which wins him the coveted bride, while the fine steeds of his brothers are easily beaten. But such tales are too few in number to prove anything else than that they have been modelled on the popular stories of the despised but successful youngest son.

[1] *Bureau of Ethnology, 14th Annual Report* (1896), part i., p. 175. Another myth tells how the young hunter caught the sun in a noose.

CHAPTER XIV

THE DRAGON SACRIFICE: PERSEUS AND ANDROMEDA

WHETHER St George of Merry England was the Christian martyr George of Nicomedia, or, as Gibbon believed, the Arian heretic and persecutor George of Cappadocia,[1] it is certain that the story of his slaying the dragon is a mere folk-tale which has now become inseparably attached to his memory. That folk-tale is frequently but one of a series of incidents in a more complicated story found all over Europe, to which may be given the name of the Perseus and Andromeda cycle. These incidents usually occur in the following sequence: 1. A fisherman catches a fish (the king of the fishes) which, before it dies, bids him give part to his wife, part to his mare, and part to his dog. All will bear three offspring. From the rest, buried in the garden, will spring up three trees—the life-tokens of the three sons.[2] 2. In time the eldest son rescues a princess from a dragon, who demands a victim at stated periods. He cuts off the monster's

[1] Gibbon, ch. xxiii.; *Acta Sanctorum*, 23rd April. See Baring-Gould, p. 266.

[2] The fish is really incarnated in these various forms. This does not prove a Buddhist origin, for the idea is of much earlier date. *Cf.* Egyptian story of The Two Brothers, p. 113. We may, however, illustrate it from a Buddhist story of a fisherman who, having given a bonze some food, caught a huge eel in which was this very food. His wife ate it and had, in consequence, a son. Now the son was the eel, and the eel was the bonze. Perhaps this is really a distorted version of the European tale. Landes, p. 78.

heads, extracting the tongues. 3. He leaves the maiden, who returns home. A charcoal-burner takes up the heads, and going to the palace claims the girl's hand, when the true victor appears and produces the tongues as proof. 4. After his marriage he looks out of the window, and sees a castle, which he visits in spite of his wife's warning. He meets a witch, and is turned to stone. 5. At home his life-token gives warning of his fate. The second brother sets off, is taken by the princess for her husband, sees the enchanted castle, and in the sequel suffers the same fate. 6. Now the youngest brother arrives, and by dint of superior cleverness, overcomes the witch, and restores his brothers to life.

With more or less variation in detail this is the substance of a story of which there are Russian, Lithuanian, Swedish, Danish, German, Greek, Tyrolese, Sicilian, Pisan, Spanish, Portuguese, French (Breton, Lorraine), and Celtic versions. The classical and literary form of the folk-story is that of Perseus and Andromeda, but in it Perseus conquers the Medusa witch first, then rescues the maiden, while he extricates himself from all his difficulties.[1]

To illustrate the central incident, which alone concerns us in this chapter, I shall cite a Magyar version, which omits the first incident and introduces us to three brothers setting out on their travels, leaving their knives in a tree as life-tokens. The eldest arrives at a town hung with black, because "in the lake near the town lives a dragon with seven heads, who vomits fire, and to him we have to give a virgin every week. To-morrow it is the king's

[1] Leskien, p. 544 (Russian and Lithuanian); Cavallius, p. 348; Grundtvig, i. 277; Kuhn und Schwartz, p. 327; Legrand, p. 161; Zingerle, p. 260; Gonzenbach, No. 40; Comparetti, p. 126; Caballero, ii. 11; Coelho, p. 120; Sébillot, i. 124; Cosquin, i. 60; Campbell, i. 72.

daughter's turn, and she has to go. This is the reason why our town is hung with black." In spite of the king having promised his daughter's hand to anyone overcoming the dragon, no one has yet come forward. The prince at once goes to the lake and kills the dragon, taking a tooth out of each of its heads. But while lying exhausted he is cut in pieces by Red Knight, who goes off with the dragon's heads and claims his bride. Meanwhile the prince is restored to life by his animal servants, just in time to confute the impostor and win the maiden. The witch incident and the rescue by the youngest brother, then follow.[1] Two variants, from Kabylia and Quilimane, show that the story has wandered far.[2] The Kabyle version omits the supernatural birth. A king's daughter has to supply a dragon with food every day, *i.e.*, she is not sacrificed. The dragon is killed by a certain hero, who marries the girl. Soon after he is turned to stone, but restored by his brother. As told in Quilimane, the story runs that a fisherman's wife having eaten millet seed given her husband by a fish (just as in the Celtic version the sea-maiden gives the fisherman three grains), has two sons, who become great hunters. In a near country a whale refuses to give up any of the water unless the chief gives him his daughter. This whale is slain by the elder brother, who cuts out its tongue. A warrior takes its head and pretends that he is the conqueror, but, being confuted by the absence of the tongue, is put to death, and the maiden is given to the hero. A Fjort story has also a curious resemblance to the introduction and the sequel of some of our tales. Mavunga and Luemba are twins, each born with a fetich. Mavunga set off on his travels; his charm provided him magically. Hearing of a pretty girl, he resolved to marry her; and she, when she saw him,

[1] Jones, p. 112.

[2] *Kabyle*, Riviére, p. 193; *Quilimane*, Rev. D. Macdonald, ii. 341.

fell in love at first sight. After the wedding followed the curious mirror incident already referred to, with Mavunga's annihilation by the woman of the mysterious town. Luemba now set out to seek his brother, and having reached his sister-in-law's village, was taken for his brother. During the night she came to his hut, but he, clothed in chastity, caused his charm to remove her and fetch her back in the morning. Mirror incident and visit to the mysterious town occur in his case, but he outwitted the old woman and killed her. Then, having touched his brother's bones with his charm, he restored him to life, and both brothers now reanimated hundreds of skeletons, who became their followers. Later, the brothers quarrelled over their followers, and Mavunga killed Luemba. His horse restored him with his fetich, and he in turn killed Mavunga, to everybody's satisfaction.[1]

These variants suggest that the story of a maiden sacrificed to a monster and rescued by a hero, is really a separate tale which has become an incident in certain story cycles. Thus, as in the Kabyle story, Grimm's tale of The Two Brothers has nothing to do with a marvellous fish, but is introduced by the common incident of eating two birds which have magical virtues. Other tales, again, contain the fish introduction, but omit the witch sequel;[2] while a variety of stories of this cycle have no trace of the dragon incident at all.[3] Other story cycles in which it appears are (1) that in which a strange monster, captured by a king, is set at liberty by his son, who flees to escape the king's anger, and is befriended by

[1] Dennett, p. 60.

[2] Tyrolese (Zingerle, No. 25); Portuguese (Coelho, No. 52).

[3] Breton (Luzel, p. 63); Flemish (Wolf, No. 27); German (Grimm, No. 85); Austrian (Vernaleken, No. 35); Tyrolese (Schneller, No. 28); Italian (Visentini, No. 19); Sicilian (Gonzenbach, No. 39); Portuguese (Consiglieri-Pedroso, No. 25); Servian (Vouk, No. 29); Bosnian (Leskien, p. 543).

the monster in his subsequent fight with the dragon,[1] and (2) that in which the hero is a bear's son or brought up by a bear, or is one of several men noted for strength, skill, and craft.[2] From this it may be supposed that the dragon-slaying was first a separate story which gathered to itself others, until these with it were formed into complete tales. What more natural than that the hero should have been supernaturally born, or that he should have suffered from the fraud of an impostor, or, having been victorious, should be exposed to new dangers. It was the art of the story-teller to combine many primitive incidents into varying forms, some of which were gradually stereotyped and became classical. The persistence of the impostor incident in nearly all the variants suggests that it must have been early added to the primitive dragon story.

All this, however, would be mere conjecture, were we not able to point to several tales containing (with various introductory formulæ) the simple incident of the dragon-slaying and rescue of a maiden; or still more simply, the slaughter of a monster by a hero to whom the king has promised his daughter should he succeed. Taking these groups separately, I shall cite some typical forms of each.

1. *Rescue of a Maiden.* (*a*) The incident occurs frequently in the *Thousand and One Nights.* The Sultan of Yemen's son arrived in a town which was in mourning because each year a girl had to be given to a monster, and this year the lot had fallen on the sultan's daughter. Having killed the monster, the hero, with the usual self-suppression of heroes in these tales, sent the girl home and disappeared. In a

[1] Basque (Webster, p. 22); the more usual form of this story makes the hero perform several tasks in which he receives the monster's help. *Cf. Fairy Tales from Afar*, p. 122, see p. 312 *supra.*

[2] *Cf.* p. 271 *supra.*

Senegambian tale a serpent exacted the same annual tribute, and the girl was tied to a tree on the lake-shore; all the people were witnesses of the sacrifice. Her lover slew the serpent at the psychological moment, and fled with her, lest the elders of the town should sacrifice both because he had murdered the serpent. Next day, as it happened, punishment overtook the town. Many such stories are found in Japan, and date from early times. One of them is told in the *Ko-ji-ki*, of certain divinities. "His Swift Impetuous Male Augustness" found an earthly deity, his wife, and daughter weeping because an eight-headed dragon had eaten seven of the daughters of their house in as many years, and the eighth was now waiting her turn. By placing vessels of *saki* on the shore, the god intoxicated the dragon and then killed it, marrying the girl. The pair are now divinities of married life.[1] In many tales containing this simple incident, the hero does not declare himself. The hero of one from Ireland, drops one of his glass shoes as he rides off, and by it he is discovered in the usual Cinderella fashion.[2] Again, the hero of several stories will not marry the rescued maiden until he knows what fear is.[3] In an Esthonian story, Peter, the hero, promises to return in three years. At the end of this time he finds that the coachman has claimed the victory and the princess's hand. To kill him is easy work, and Peter proves his identity by producing the monster's horns.[4] One of the Algonquin stories

[1] In the *Arabian Nights* the hero is discovered by the simple stratagem of making all the men in the land pass before the girl. Bérenger-Féraud, i. 236; *Contes*, p. 185. Chamberlain, *Ko-ji-ki*, p. 60. The sword which slew the dragon is still preserved as one of the imperial regalia of Japan!

[2] *F.L.J.*, i. 54.

[3] Lorraine, Cosquin, ii. 253 (the devil is to take the girl); Flemish (a dragon), Cosquin, ii. 259; Tyrol (dragon), Zingerle, i. No. 21; Breton (a beast with seven heads), Sébillot, i. No. 11.

[4] Kirby, ii. 7.

of the Master Rabbit epos tells of a boy who, travelling with Rabbit, reaches a village where the daughter of the sagamore is to be given next day to a Kehwahqu, or cannibal monster. Advised by Rabbit, the boy says he can save her. "Do this," says the chief, "and she will be yours." They set off together; the Kehwahqu pursues, but is killed. After wedding the girl, the youth is thrown overboard by the jealous young men of the village, but is saved by a crow and a fox. He goes to recover his bride, and finds her just being married to one of the young men. Through the power given him by the animals, he transforms all the youths into beasts.[1] A curious story comes from Borneo, of a lovely Chinese princess kept on an island in a lake on the top of Mount Kinibalu, by a dragon god. Many have tried to rescue her, only to meet with destruction; but one day she will be released by a powerful man, when the lake will burst and overwhelm the mountain.

(*b*) In a few cases the story ends sadly. Phorloë, daughter of a king in Latium, had to be given to a monster who demanded a victim yearly. Her lover, Elaate, killed the monster, but died of his wounds, while Phorloë wept so much that she was turned into a fountain.[2]

(*c*) Sometimes the hero does not marry the maiden, occasionally because he is a celibate saint. When the oracle hinted that a maiden should be given to the dragon, sent by Neptune as a punishment to devastate Laomedon's land, the lot fell on his daughter Hesione. Hercules passing with the Argonauts, slew the monster, and then went on his

[1] Leland, *A.L.*, p. 227. Mr Leland thinks the story has been introduced from early Norse or French-Canadian sources. But it may be original, and in any case has received original treatment from the natives.

[2] Bérenger-Féraud, i. 225.

way.[1] Another Greek myth told how it was prophesied that Euryphilus would recover his reason by staying a barbarous sacrifice. This sacrifice was a yearly offering of a boy and girl to a dragon, on account of the sin of Cometo, priestess of Diana. Euryphilus slew the monster, but though he became king of the country, did not marry the girl. The Turks say that Chederles, one of Alexander's lieutenants, rescued a maiden from a dragon, only to go off and seek fresh adventures; while all the stories of St George agree that he, being a celibate, could not marry the rescued princess of Libya.[2] So in an Avar story, Bear's Ear having saved the king of the underworld's daughter from a dragon who keeps back the water except on one day in each year when a maiden is offered to him, refuses the girl, and only begs to be taken to the upper air. A Senegambian ballad is a variant of this tale, but here a lion keeps back the water. Samba, the hero, slays it, and fixing his lance in the ground, and placing his sandal on the lion, announces that whoever can pull out the lance and wear the sandal is the lion-killer. Of course, he only can do this, and is offered the king's daughter. He refuses her, and begs only for an army to revenge himself on a traitorous uncle.[3]

(*d*) The influence of Christian tradition is seen in another group of tales where the dragon is overcome by a relic, which probably replaces the powerful fetich of pre-Christian stories. A dragon took

[1] Diodorus Siculus, iv. 42. In a variant, Hercules is swallowed by the monster, and hacks his way through—a common incident in folk-tales.

[2] Pausanias, viii. 19; Noël, *Dict. de la Fable;* the legend of St George and the Dragon first appears in the *Legenda Aurea* (fourteenth century), but occurs in many folk-tales. In a Servian tale the saint bargains that the people will become Christians after he slays the dragon, and in a Portuguese version his brother marries the maiden. Mijatovich, p. 295.

[3] Bérenger-Féraud, *Contes*, p. 41.

possession of a tower in Bordeaux, and demanded daily a young girl. He fell in love with one of his victims, and spared her life. But she learned from him that the rod of St Martial would destroy him. Writing this with her blood on a slate, she communicated with her friends, who procured the relic and made the dragon disappear. The town of Boerkilde in Norway had to make the sacrifice yearly. Meanwhile, becoming Christian, the townspeople sent two clergy to Rome to get relics. One of them dreamed that St Lucien would become patron of the town. His head was accordingly carried there and set before the dragon, who at once fled for ever.[1]

(*e*) In some cases a woman destroys the monster. Thus the people of Tenos were tormented by a dragon, till an enchantress drew him from his den and caused his death. This story is told by Aristotle, but a similar incident is found in China. Long ago, a huge serpent used to signify by a dream to someone that it required a maiden victim. The governors had exhausted all the daughters of slaves and criminals, when a mandarin's daughter volunteered, and went off with a sword and a dog which bit at snakes. Placing rice and honey before the serpent's den, she waited his coming, let loose her dog, and hacked the serpent to pieces. The brave girl, in the sequel, was married by a prince. An Albanian story has this peculiarity that the king's son is the sacrifice to a lamia, who agrees to stop eating the populace if he is given up. The lamia is destroyed by a girl disguised as a soldier, who is rewarded with a magic horse. By its means she wins a princess as her wife, and her sex being subsequently changed, all goes well.[2]

[1] Marmier, *Lettres sur la Nord.*

[2] Aristotle, *de Mirab. anim. rerum;* Dennys, p. 110; Dozon, No. 14. At Kronstadt, in Transylvania, is the picture of a huge

2. *The Maiden promised in Marriage, but not exposed to the Monster.* The King of Roumania promised his daughter to whomsoever would kill the dragon which devastated his lands. Here, too, an impostor took the credit of the hero's deeds, but was found out in time. The monster in an Esthonian story had a body like an ox, legs like a frog's, with a huge tail, and eyes that drew men to destruction. It exterminated men and women, and nothing could destroy it but Solomon's seal. This the hero obtained from the enchantress who guarded it, killed the monster, and won half the kingdom and the king's daughter. Later the enchantress transformed him to an eagle, and separated him from his wife, to whom, however, he was restored by the good offices of a friendly sorcerer. Indian tales usually replace the dragon by a man-eating rakshasi. Thus Champa Dal and Sahasra Dal arrive at a town, plunged in grief. A rakshasi would have depopulated it, but the king pleaded for mercy, and it was agreed that one victim should be placed in the temple every night. On hearing this the friends offered to spend the night there. Sahasra had the blood of a rakshasi in his veins, so the monster had no power over him, and fell before his onslaught. Having cut off her head, he lay down to sleep. Now the king had promised half his kingdom and his daughter to the slayer of the rakshasi. Some woodcutters, passing the temple, looked in and saw the monster dead. One took the head, the others each a limb, and claimed the reward. Suspicion was aroused, and Sahasra received the reward. The woodcutters were not punished. In a variant from Kashmir the heroes are brothers, and the impostor is the temple-sweeper, who is later outwitted by the real hero, who wins the promised

dragon which haunted a hill near the town, till one day, having devoured a student, it became so thirsty that it drank till it burst! —E. Gerard, ii. 269.

princess. So in a Persian tale Ferid kills the dragon, and the king keeps his promise by giving him his daughter's hand; while the Persian *History of Nassar* contains the incident of the gratitude of certain fairies to Nassar and their determination to kill a dragon and let him have the reward. This dragon had destroyed many by its fiery breath, and the king, who had no offspring, had promised to abdicate in favour of its slayer. The fairies, having dropped half a mountain on the dragon's body, gave its head to Nassar, who was immediately crowned king on appearing with this trophy. In a Kabyle story the king's daughter is brought into closer relationship with the monster—a seven-headed serpent—because she has to bring it food at regular intervals. A hero kills the serpent and wins the princess, but is afterwards turned to stone, and, as in the tales of the Perseus type, restored by his brother. A similar story is found among the Red Indians, Mikumwiss came to a village whose chief had a lovely daughter. She was offered to the hero on condition that he should kill a huge horned dragon who had killed many suitors. Mikumwiss put a log before the dragon's den and danced a magic dance. Out came the dragon's head and rested on the log; with one blow of his axe the hero severed it from its body, and carrying it to the chief, was set several other tasks in which he proved equally successful, and at last won the girl as his wife.[1]

It is not unreasonable to suppose that such tales as those in the second group are (as far as the maiden is concerned) survivals of an early form of the story in which the chief's daughter is given to him who kills some obnoxious monster. Such a story comes from South Africa, where suicide or sudden death is

[1] Kirby, ii. 237; Day, p. 73; *cf.* Temple, i. 17; Steele and Temple, p. 138; Neschebi, ii. 291; Clouston, *E.R.*, p. 142; Riviére, p. 193; Leland, *A.L.*, p. 85.

frequently ascribed to the victim's having seen an *incanti*, a kind of water-spirit, the sight of which causes death. A chief's son saw one and died, so did the brave general whom he sent against it, and all his magicians could not overcome it. Finally a doctor came from afar, and, hearing the state of affairs, begged to be shown the haunt of the *incanti*. He made medicine, put it in the *incanti's* pool, and no one ever saw that *incanti* again. Then he married the chief's daughter and was a great man among that people.[1]

Meanwhile we note many tales in which a criminal is pardoned if he succeeds in slaying a monster. These tales are usually in the form of a local tradition, with names and dates. Thus Harald was exiled from Norway, and took refuge in Bysance, where he killed a man, and, for punishment, was exposed as victim of a dragon which he slew; then, returning to Norway, was made king. A Swiss tradition tells how a dragon ravaged the land, till a smith, condemned to death, was offered a free pardon if he slew it. Many such stories are current in France, as at Niort, where the criminal was a deserter condemned to death in 1589. He covered his face with a mask to keep off the dragon's breath, but was asphyxiated. A monument was erected to him, which was still surviving in 1788. Sometimes the stories take the form of one told at Rouen. St Romain wished to destroy the dragon, and begged the help of a condemned prisoner, who, for that help, was to obtain pardon. The saint bound the monster with his stole, when it was easily killed.[2] In the Chinese

[1] *Cf.* the numerous stories where, before winning his bride, the hero has to perform many tasks set by her or by her father. Such ideas arose out of savage custom; *e.g.*, no Dyak woman will marry a man till he has taken so many heads. Ling Roth, ii. 164, 166. See p. 17. *Folk-Lore*, iii. 356 (Bantu).

[2] Salverte, ii. 328; *Revue des Trad.*, 1886, p. 482; *Acad. Celt.*, v. 52; *ibid.*, iv. 312.

tale already cited, the daughters of criminals were given to the dragon.

Many stories from all parts of the world speak of territories ravaged by monstrous animals. Take a Celtic instance first. In Lough Mask was an anghisky, or water-horse, which ate up children and pregnant women, till it was destroyed by a monk, *about twenty years ago.*[1] This reminds us of the Scandinavian water-sprites, who take monstrous forms, and require a human victim every year. From Mongolia comes a story of two serpents which shut off the water-supply until the promise of a yearly victim was made. One year it fell on the khan. His son took his place, and accompanied by a poor man's son, overheard the serpents describe how they could be slain. In another Mongol tale the Dzalmaus devoured men and cattle till the hedgehog, who was then a bey, overcame him by sticking in his throat and refusing to come out till the monster made terms. Pausanias reports two such stories from Bœotia: one of a triton, who ate beasts and men till the people compounded for a yearly sacrifice, and finally slew him, as in Japan, after giving him wine; and one of a dragon, who devastated the land till Zeus advised a yearly victim to be given. Cleostratus, being chosen

[1] Celtic monsters have, in fact, a penchant for pretty young women, who, in many parts of the Highlands, will not pass their supposed dwellings by night, and even by day do so in fear and trembling. A story from Raasay combines this cycle and the spit incident of the Cyclops' cycle. A sea-horse lived in a loch in the island, and devoured a man's daughter. The father roasted a sow, the smell of which attracted the monster, who sallied forth to devour it between an avenue of stones which prevented him running off to right or left. Meanwhile the man hid behind a wall, and, seizing a spit which he had left in the fire, attacked the monster, and slew it. Wall and avenue used to be pointed out as a proof of the story's truth.—Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, p. 320 (Croker's edition, 1860). Many Celtic lochs are believed to require a yearly victim—memory of the human sacrifice once paid to the spirit of the lake. *Cf.* instances in Rhys, *Celtic Folk-Lore*, i. 243.

first, was given a spiked cuirass by Menestratus, and the spikes tore the monster's vitals. In an Indian tale a scorpion as big as a goat is constrained by a lama to be content with an occasional offering instead of destroying the Sutlaj valley once for all. The Sea-Dyaks have a curious story of a deluge being caused by men killing a monstrous boa; while from New Guinea comes a tale of a vast demon who ate a whole village at a meal. One woman hid in a cave, and there had a son, who afterwards killed the monster and became chief of the land.[1] A Dindjé (North America) tale resembles the Mongolian. A monstrous serpent deprived the people of food by keeping back all the fish, till Etsiegé destroyed it by magic power, and found its den full of fish. Among the Eskimo it is told how a monstrous reptile ravaged the country, but was killed by a youth, its carcase serving the people for food. As in New Guinea, a huge serpent swallowed whole Ainu villages, till at last it was cut to pieces, when stinging ants issued from it, and have remained in Japan ever since. A mighty trout in another Ainu tale does the same, and even now the Ainu think that such creatures haunt lakes and emerge at intervals for a feast on human flesh. A few hundred years ago one was found dead on the shore of Lake Chitose. It had died of indigestion after swallowing a deer, horns and all![2]

Having arrived at this point, it seems possible to

[1] A Melanesian story affords a close parallel to this. A boy had a pet snake which grew and grew and developed man-eating tastes, devouring the old village, with the exception of one woman, who hid in a hole and gave birth to two sons. These afterwards destroyed the whole brood of this serpent, including two of its offspring which had become the terror of the country.—Codrington, p. 403.

[2] *F.L.J.*, ii. 61. Thorpe, *N.M.*, ii. 20. Busk, p. 18; *F.L.J.*, iii. 312. Pausanias, bk. ix. *Revue des Traditions*, 1884, p. 431. Ling Roth, i. 301. Romilly, p. 120. Petitot, p. 77. Rink, p. 117. Batchelor, pp. 201, 279.

arrange the ideas underlying these folk-tales in some kind of order as follows. (1) In former times certain places were liable to the attack of monsters. (2) The monster is got rid of by strategy, or by the efforts of a brave man—a criminal, or a hero who would win the king's daughter.[1] (3) Or the monster agrees to forego his ravages on condition that a recurring sacrifice is made him. This is sometimes done as the result of divine advice. (4) The sacrificial victim is rescued by a hero, who kills the monster and marries her. This is the *motif* of the stories with which our study began; it easily lent itself to artistic treatment, with other incidents gradually accumulating round it.

Had these ideas any basis in fact, and had the monstrous dragons, serpents, tritons, *hydras and chimæras dire*, a real existence at some far-off period? Besides being at the mercy of many species of animals, existing or extinct, early men may have encountered belated survivals of the "dragons of the prime"—Pterodactyls, Dinosaurs, Plesiosauri, Ichthyosauri.[2] It needed little imagination, as time went on, to resolve these into the seven-headed dragons which bear so striking a resemblance to them. Their size, their ferocity, their ravages, must have made an indelible impression on the minds of early men. This, handed on from age to age, took the form of legend, with which was mingled other episodes borrowed from past or existing custom, and so the folk-tale would be created. Among savages, it

[1] This incident is found in tales outside the Dragon cycle. *Cf.* those in which a coward is reputed a hero, and is set to rid the country of a wild boar and a unicorn (Lorraine), a crocodile (Cambodia), an elephant (Kashmir), a giant, etc. (European and Eastern tales). Cosquin, i. 96, 101.

[2] It has been thought that animal forms of a primitive type may still exist, *e.g.*, on the isolated tableland of Roraima in British Guiana. Im Thurn, p. 82. Birds like Sindbad's roc are known now to have existed, from the discovery of a huge egg, semi-fossilised, in Madagascar. A cast of it is in the British Museum.—Reade, p. 471.

should be noted, large and savage animals of which their ancestors have had experience, are exaggerated into monsters. The Maoris have stories of vast lizards, the terror of the people, which are really the crocodiles of the land from which they migrated, and these have given rise to a tradition of other fabulous monsters or Taniwhas, living in the sea and carrying off mortals whenever they can.[1] Our suggestion also receives some support from Australian tales, in which some animals figure as being much bigger than they are now, and living on human flesh. The tribes held a meeting to discuss how to get rid of one of these—a monstrous iguana, who killed men by his poison-bag. The snake relieved him of this by strategy; hence the snake is now poisonous and the lizard harmless.[2] Again, certain monstrous snakes are believed to have existed long ago, and to have been destroyed by the tribe of a black fellow whose bride was killed by one of them. They threw pieces of gum to the snakes; gum kept their mouths closed, and so they became an easy prey. Even in Ireland we find such traditions.[3] The valley in which the well of Aragh is situated was formerly haunted by a huge eel, which devoured man and beast, till St Aragh slew it on the spot where the well sprung up. Dr Tylor remarks on traditions which contain the memory of the huge animals of the Quaternary period, and refers to the Red Indian legend of a huge elk like an elephant, probably the mammoth, and to the Brazilian stories of a shaggy monster like the orang-outang, probably the distorted remembrance of an extinct ape found in Post Pliocene beds in Brazil.[4]

[1] Clarke, pp. 79, 184; Shortland, p. 73. The Maoris came from the Philippines, where saurians abound.

[2] Parker, 2nd series, pp. 61, 76.

[3] Wood-Martin, *Elder Faiths of Ireland*, ii. 87.

[4] *Early Hist. Mankind*, p. 303 *seq.* *Cf.* Col. Hamilton Smith, *Nat. Hist. Hum. Spec.*, p. 104.

With these qualifying circumstances, the dragon of folk-lore may be said to have had a real existence, and to have been a terror to mankind, ravaging and devouring, as many of the stories relate.[1] As their supreme enemies, men saw that the only way of escape was by destroying such monstrous creatures as terrified them, either by stratagem, or by valour, or by coming to terms with them. As to this last method it may easily have been thought that if some chosen individual were freely offered at regular intervals to the monster, he would be satisfied. He devoured human flesh; clearly, then, "feed the brute" was indicated. Sacrifice is largely at bottom simply the feeding of ghosts or gods. Thus the victim would sooner or later be regarded as sacrificial. Even in such a late myth as that of the Minotaur, who was at last slain by Theseus, the Athenians are bidden by Minos to send the children as food for the Minotaur. Yet they were sacrificial victims, too.[2] It must be noted also that, in some cases, the dragon is said to have come *from time to time* to ravage the country.[3] This may have suggested a regularly recurring sacrifice (the maiden offered each year), ordained, as was later supposed, by divine command. The stories, at all events, are quite clear upon these points, relating, first, the general attack by the monster; and, second, the sacrifice by which that attack was commuted.

[1] If fear is one of the roots of worship, nothing could have inspired it so much as huge animals. This feeling of terror survives in the form of awe and mystery in serpent worship wherever found.

[2] Apollodorus, iii. 158. The daughter of Minos supplied Theseus with a sword to slay the monster, and a clue for the labyrinth, as all ogres' daughters do, and then fled with him. Plutarch, *Theseus*, p. 19.

[3] The Fjort say that they do not sacrifice to the sea, but that sometimes when Chicamassi (the spirit in the sea) is vexed, she comes ashore and takes one of twins or triplets, and drowns it in the sea. —Dennett, p. 8.

Reference has just been made to Australian myths, but the actual ceremonies of the Wollunqua snake totem clan of the Warramunga tribe of North Central Australia also give some support to the views here set forth. Contrary to totem-custom the snake "is purely mythical, and except for the one great progenitor of the totemic group, is not supposed to exist at the present day," while the ceremonies in question have a purpose different from all other totem-clan ceremonies, which are intended to increase the totem species. The Wollunqua is a huge serpent, so long that it could reach into the skies. It now lives away in a lonely valley of the Murchison range, but the natives fear that it might come out of its hiding-place and attack them. It has done so before, but was driven off, after killing several natives. So runs tradition; the ceremonies have for their purpose "most probably that of propitiating the mythic beast." The Wollunqua is pleased when they are performed, displeased when they are omitted. They consist of a representation of the ancient wanderings of the animal; then a mound is made and on it the animal itself is depicted. The members of the clan walk round and round the mound, stroking its base with boughs; they sing and shout beside it; finally, they attack it with wild fury and hack it to pieces. The mound, with the snake's representation upon it, is supposed to please him, and make him wriggle with satisfaction; he is propitiated and will remain in his hiding-place without coming out to attack and eat the natives. But as he was once driven away so the ceremonies coerce besides propitiating him, and the attack on the mound reminds him, presumably, of this. The Australian natives have hardly, if at all, attained the idea of sacrificial offerings; these propitiatory ceremonies are of the nature of sympathetic magic, but had sacrifice been known among them they would doubtless have offered a victim, possibly

human, to the mythic snake. They have, at least, reached the idea that a monstrous animal can be prevented from attacking them by propitiatory rites.[1]

Stripped of their later details, our stories reveal a tragic picture of the life of early man. His hazardous and laborious existence, already shadowed by superstition and fear, is made more dark by the occasional appearance of some fearful monster, which tears and devours some of the feeble group and then retires to its remote haunts—marsh or forest or river. This happens from time to time; the problem comes to be how to save the other members of the group, and yet propitiate this angry monster, already dimly conceived as worshipful. The primitive council suggests what has been proved efficacious in the case of enemies, or of other worshipful beings—viz., propitiation by a gift. If that is done, then, perhaps, the monster will rest satisfied for a time. But it must be a human victim, and as, presumably, women and children have mostly fallen victims, it must be a helpless girl.[2] The choice falls without mercy; the girl, decked with the best ornaments of the period is torn from her hut or rock shelter; neither prayers nor cries avail her; and she is carried off to the edge of the monster's haunt. There she is left alone, bound to a tree or rock to await her horrible death. Paralysed by terror, she is yet submissive to her fate, perhaps dimly conscious that she is dying for the sake of others. Parched with thirst, weak with fear, her eyes see the horrible monster emerging from its haunts—gliding or crawling quickly towards her. A useless struggle, an agonised cry, and all is over; the monster carries the body away to glut his appetite at leisure. But, perhaps, some man, braver than his fellows, dares to attack the monster before it seizes its

[1] Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, chap. vii.

[2] *Cf.* the stories of a girl *stolen* by a serpent in chap. ix.

victim; perhaps he perishes; perhaps he is successful, for even with such rude weapons as he had, primitive man did not fear to attack the largest and fiercest animals. And then the trembling victim is released, to be bestowed by her relations, let us hope, upon the brave rescuer. The sacrifice is no fancy picture; it must often have taken place; there is no reason why an occasional rescue should not also have occurred, and when it did it would, of course, become historical, mythical, the subject of folk-story for untold ages to come.

The stories also throw light upon the sacrificial victim. (1) Sometimes it is a criminal who is sent out to battle with the monster; in the Chinese tale the *daughters* of criminals are sacrificed. But the criminal, thus glorified into a hero, must have originally been the sacrificial victim. Wherever human sacrifice can be traced, prisoners and slaves are among the victims. Thus the Garo hill tribes of Bengal select victims from the prisoners made in their forays; the Dyaks, when erecting the first post of a large house, place a slave girl under it; prisoners and criminals are sacrificed at the Gold Coast customs; a young slave girl of light complexion is offered to the spirit of the river bar among the Brass River natives; while in ancient times the practice was common enough.[1] Finally, the position of the criminal as hero is explained by the fact that the sacrificed criminal or slave often became a local deity.[2]

(2) In most of the tales a maiden is the victim. One has been chosen from each family, until the lot has fallen on the king's daughter, or she is the one

[1] *J.A.I.*, ii. 394. St John, i. 46. Ellis, p. 170. Miss Kingsley, p. 484. Clement of Alexandria describes how Aristomenes offered five hundred prisoners of war to Zeus Ithomatos.—*Protrep.*, p. 36. For similar sacrifices among the ancient Celts, see Cæsar, *De Bell. Gal.*, vi. 16.

[2] Many minor Hindu gods have originated in this way.

who is chosen first. Women and children would more readily fall victims to any noxious animal. Hence would arise the idea that a woman—but especially a virgin, as being most valuable—should be offered, either to be eaten, or, as was thought later, as a victim of the monster's lusts. The selection of the chief's or king's daughter in the tales did not arise from the dramatic value of such a choice, but from that aspect of sacrifice so well expressed in Tennyson's poem, of giving what is dearest and best. Dr Frazer has abundantly proved the importance of the chief or king, or of a member of his family, to the community as a sacrificial victim in times of trouble.[1] Thus the priest of Artemis demanded from Agamemnon his daughter Iphigenia to atone for his guilt. Sanchoniathon says it was usual for rulers in ancient times to sacrifice the most beloved of their children to the offended gods. In China we have the story of the Emperor Tang (1766 B.C.) proposing to sacrifice himself in a time of continued drought; while in Scandinavia the sacrifice of King Domaldi during a famine, of the king of Vermland in time of dearth, of Haco's son, are instances of what was a usual practice then. Among the Phœnicians and Carthaginians young men of high rank voluntarily offered to sacrifice themselves on behalf of their fatherland, just as the victim was given to the dragon to save her people.[2] These ideas, current also among men of an earlier time, must have prompted them to offer the child of whomsoever was recognised as head among them, later transformed into the king of folk-tale. A legend from Samoa offers a curious illustration of this. A human victim had to be offered daily to the Sun, the body being laid on a tree so that he might devour it.

[1] The same idea of royal value is at the root of stories in which the king's daughter is stolen by a giant, dragon, etc.

[2] Legge, *Rel. of China*, p. 54. Grimm, *Teut. Myth.*, i. 46. Mallet, *Northern Antiq.*, p. 134. G. Allen, *Attis*, p. 70.

Ui and her brother Luamae fled to Mami'a to escape death, but there too the custom existed, there too the population was dwindling fast in consequence of it. It came to be Luamae's turn, but his sister took his place. When the Sun saw her he fell in love with her, took her to live with him, and never again demanded a victim. Another version, however, makes Ui the king's daughter, whom he gave up as a victim to put an end to the practice, thus making her the saviour of her people. Still more clearly is it seen in the Scots tale (derived from Scandinavian sources) of Assipattle and the Mester Stoor-Worm. The great Stoor-Worm was coming to ravage the land, when the sorcerer advised that he should be fed once a week with seven virgins. This went on so long that the people saw there would soon be no women left in the land; accordingly counsel was taken, and the sorcerer now advised that the king's daughter should be offered as the one and only means of pacifying the dragon. Sorrowfully the king consented: "She is my dearest on earth. Yet if her death can save the land, let her die." Fortunately, however, the despised Assipattle slew the dragon before the sacrifice was made, and won the princess for his wife.[1]

Here we have what we may call the historical basis of our tales plainly set forth in a highly dramatic way. It illustrates what must often have happened —a tract of land ravaged by a monstrous animal; the terrified people believing that submission at the cost of an occasional victim would save them;[2] and as things grew worse, a more valuable victim selected. Nor is there any reason why the dramatic rescue may not have been founded on fact—the rescuer coming

[1] Turner, *Samoa*, p. 201. Douglas, p. 58.

[2] *Cf.* the Red Indian practice of propitiating rattle-snakes with tobacco. Sometimes the medicine-man speaks to the snake, telling it of the sacrifice, and returns saying that there is now peace between his people and the snakes.—Schoolcraft, iii. 231.

at the opportune moment and slaying the monster. In the Senegambian tale already mentioned the serpent is represented as a divinity, and we may readily suppose that all such monsters in early times were regarded as "supernatural"; their victims being thus real sacrifices. In this case, the divine serpent, robbed of his prey, his offering, brings a judgment upon the village. Human sacrifices to gods, to ghosts, to nature spirits, have been all too common. Actual instances, such as those of our stories, are few, because in later times such monstrous animals became extinct, and ordinary animals were usually merged into existing gods, for whom the victims were slain. But there are some authentic cases of victims exposed to the attack of serpents and other worshipful "monsters" — the descendants of our folk-tale dragons. Plutarch speaks of women (criminals) exposed on the banks of the Indus to serpent gods; the Livonians and Lithuanians are said by mediæval writers to have offered the most beautiful of their captives to "dragon-gods"; and sacrifice to a serpent, with a cannibal feast on the victim, is said to be a Negro Voodoo rite. In New Calabar the shark is a divinity, and every seven years a light-coloured child is solemnly thrown into the water as an offering, while the shark is asked to intercede with the spirit of the waters to keep the entrance to the river open so that ships may come and trade. Similar offerings of a young slave girl of the lightest complexion are made by the Brass River natives, as we have already seen; and, until ten years ago, human sacrifices to the sacred crocodiles of the rivers of the Niger Delta were not uncommon. The Eboes (a W. African people) said that the most acceptable offering at the shrine of a sacred iguana was a human victim. Some evidence exists to show that such sacrifices were made in ancient Peru, but it is of doubtful authenticity. In ancient Mexico

some obsolete sacrifice to serpents (or a myth) may have been commemorated in the representation (still existing in the traveller Bullock's time) of a serpent with jaws extended in the act of swallowing a woman, richly dressed; while a passage in the *Shah-Nameh* of Firdausi may refer to a similar practice. The poet describes how Iblis caused two black serpents to attend on King Zohak; they had to be fed daily with the brains of human victims. But when it came to the turn of the sons of a certain blacksmith to be slain, his opposition caused Zohak to be dethroned. Erskine says that the Fijians at Vusaratu showed him a pool in which lived an immense eel, to which the children of prisoners were offered in sacrifice and were eaten by it. What is practically human sacrifice to a shark is also reported from Melanesia. In Saa and Ulawa, if a sacred shark had attempted to seize a man, who escaped from its clutches, the people would be so afraid of the shark's anger that they would throw the man into the sea—a belief which resembles the well-known superstition regarding saving a drowning man, and thus cheating the spirit of the waters of his victim.[1] These examples of actual sacrifice to reptiles and monstrous animals, though few in number, show once more how fact and folk-tale coincide.

In many of the tales the dragon keeps back the water-supply, or lives in a lake.[2] If the dragon of folk-lore has affinity with prehistoric monsters, the reason of this is obvious. Many of these creatures had their habitat in the water, and if some isolated

[1] Deane, *Worship of the Serpent*, p. 247. Grimm, *T. M.*, p. 45. St John, *Hayti*, p. 193. Miss Kingsley, pp. 484, 501. Nassau, p. 93. Bullock, *Travels in Mexico*. Atkinson's *Firdausi*, pp. 15, 41. Erskine, *Western Pacific*, p. 434. Codrington, p. 179.

[2] Modern Roumanian peasants believe that a lake near Hermanstadt is haunted by a dragon which causes thunder, and they are careful not to disturb the waters.—E. Gerard, ii. 5.

specimens survived in lake or river, it would readily be believed that they were the horrible guardians of the water, more especially if some who ventured near or put out in their frail craft, fell victims to their ferocity. We shall see presently how such monsters, as well as animals like the serpent or crocodile, frequently became embodiments of the water-divinity or water-spirit, himself a guardian of the water. The actual sacrifices just cited are mainly based on the idea of a guardianship of the waters by serpent, shark, eel, or crocodile. Human sacrifice to a water-spirit was not uncommon, like the old sacrifice of a virgin to the Nile to obtain a plentiful inundation. Here the river-god is not an animal, though, no doubt, the fate of the girl was to be eaten by crocodiles.[1] There are also many traditional stories of sacrifice to river divinities throughout Europe, *e.g.*, the Esthonian legends of little children being offered to Wohhanda, the river-god, occasionally seen as a little man in blue and yellow stockings. In the next chapter we shall see that various water-beings demand the child of someone who trespasses on their domain.[2] Meanwhile we note the number of stories in which the victim must be given before the water-supply is granted, as well as the group of tales in which a frog or some other animal living in a well will not allow a maiden to draw water till she promises to be his wife.[3] A typical story current among the Mongols, but derived from Indian sources, illustrates this. The time of sacrifice to the serpent-gods in order to make them propitious, and thus hinder them from cutting off the water which irrigated the land,

[1] Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, iii. 131.

[2] Latham, *Descriptive Ethnology*, i. 418.

[3] *Cf.* a Kashmir tale in which the serpent guardian of the water demands a pair of human eyes from everyone who comes to drink.—Knowles, p. 445 ; and *cf.* p. 90 *supra*. See also the Basuto tale cited on p. 364, for the idea in the text.

had arrived. The victim was chosen, but the khan's daughter fell in love with him, and insisted on being sacrificed along with him. The serpent-gods overheard this, and when the pair were cast into the water, they delivered them and renounced the sacrifice.[1] Here the serpents are gods, but their earlier connection as serpents with the water is plain. They can give or withhold. Primitive men easily persuaded themselves that the "dragons of the prime," or even water-serpents or crocodiles, had actually power over the waters, and over those who approached them too rashly. Thus the Malagasy regard the crocodile as king of the waters, and in their opinion to dispute its title would be to expose themselves to his vengeance and to consequent death. Hence, they avoid doing anything which would offend the animal, *e.g.*, shaking a spear over a river, or throwing any kind of manure into the water.[2] Where men already believed in a spirit of the waters, it was easy to see its embodiment in some of their actual animal forms, which, as time went on, became more and more mythical; like the dragons of Karen belief, which dwell in the waters but can take the shape of men and marry human wives,[3] or the water-bull and water-horse of Celtic folk-lore, which also take human form, and lure men and women to their haunts.

Accordingly, to universal folk-beliefs, water-spirits constantly drown men, or seek to draw down women and children beneath the waters.[4] This is the

[1] Miss Busk, p. 76.

[2] Ellis, *Hist. of Madagascar*, i. 57. It is a common belief that defiling a sacred well or stream will have serious results.

[3] *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, xxxiv. 217.

[4] This is a common belief among the Finns (Abercromby, *Pre- and Proto-Historic Finns*, i. 161), Russians (Ralston, *Songs*, p. 148 *seq.*), Roumanians and Saxons (E. Gerard, i. 200; ii. 9), to mention a few European instances, and in some cases the water-spirit, in various forms, seizes a man when drinking, and will not let him go till he has

explanation of accidental drowning; while, again, where crocodiles destroy women who come to draw water, they would easily become mythic monsters which seized human victims, once the tribe or people had wandered away to other regions where there were no crocodiles. We have already seen this in the case of the Maoris. Water-spirits are frequently represented as serpents, or as creatures half-lizard, half-bird, as in Australia, where some natives believe in a water-spirit which is a kind of serpent and seizes the unwary.[1] To such a belief in the guardianship of the waters by a reptile or by any monstrous creature which in reality or in imagination tenanted them, and not primarily to any storm-myths and the like, may be ascribed the fact that the Vedic demons of drought who keep back the rain till they are conquered by Indra, have a dragon form; that in Egypt, Apep, the opponent of Ra, was represented as a snake; that in North America it is commonly believed that a serpent dwells in the waters and overwhelms men with them, until he is overcome by the storm-god,

promised to deliver him his son. He must pay the penalty of encroaching on the spirit's territory by this sacrifice. We shall see instances of this in the next chapter. Savages dislike looking into water, lest the spirit of the water seize their reflection and work them harm through it. Dr Codrington (p. 186) gives an instance of a deep pool in Valueva, into which no one will dare to look for this very reason; while the Basutos think that crocodiles have this power over the reflected image. In other places, men will not enter such a haunted pool. Some Australians fear a water-spirit called In-guas, and will not bathe in his pools (*Trans. Eth. Soc.*, iii. 238); but the common Australian belief is in a mythic water-monster, curiously like the Celtic water-beasts, called the Bun-yip, who carries off women to his retreat, and of whom some curious stories are told. Thus, when a bold youth caught a young Bun-yip, the mother, in revenge, caused such a flood as drowned the world, and turned men and women into black swans.

[1] Bérenger-Féraud, ii. 49, 53. In French folk-lore the Dracos is not a dragon, but a water-spirit who exacts a toll on human life. *Cf.* Gervase of Tilbury, p. 987.

Michabo. For the same reason the early Babylonians represented Tiamat, or chaos, as a she-dragon destroyed by the god Merodach.[1] Mr Fergusson, in his *Tree and Serpent Worship*, has pointed out that the chief characteristic of the serpent in the East in all ages, is its power over wind and rain. These and such-like mythological ideas may be traced back to a time when primeval monsters, huge ophidians and the like, were still to be seen in lake or river, and claimed their quota of human victims from those who ventured near them. Stories which told how a hero had slain one of them, became attached to the gods, Indra, Ra, Michabo, the Japanese divinity, or Merodach. So in Greek mythology Apollo slays the Python, and heroes like Perseus or Heracles rescue the maidens Andromeda or Hesione—earlier *Märchen* being thus appropriated into the cycle of their exploits. For the same reason, Scandinavian and Teutonic mythology and poetry contain episodes of gods like Thor and heroes like Beowulf destroying dragons. In these as in Oriental folk-lore the dragon or serpent is often guardian of a treasure, as in Greek mythology a dragon guarded the apples of the Hesperides—an extension of the idea that primeval monsters kept back from men that most important natural treasure—water. How natural it was, then, that the fabled Water of Life should be so carefully guarded by fairy, giant, or dragon, in a land that was very far off, only to be

[1] *Rig-Veda*, i. 2, 13. Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, p. 139. Reville, *Religions des Non-civilisés*, i. 225. The Tiamat incident occurs in the mythological cycle, and introduces us to an account of creation—the world being formed out of the fragments of Tiamat's body. But an earlier *Märchen* or saga has supplied the material of the myth, only it has been elaborated in a way which is entirely wanting in similar sagas and *Märchen* contained in the Japanese sacred writings.

approached by him who did not know what fear was.[1]

[1] Why should the hero carry off the tongues of the dragon? Grimm points out that the gods received select portions of the victim, head, liver, heart, or tongue. Hence being superior portions, the slayer would naturally carry off one as a trophy. *Teut. Myth.*, p. 57. *Cf.* the stories in which the murderer is told to bring the child's heart or liver; he brings that of some animal instead, and the child is set free by him. See Miss Cox's *Cinderella*, p. 475. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, ii. 129, has suggested that cutting out the tongue may be a precaution to prevent the slain animals telling their fate to live animals, and thus frightening them away. With the ancient Celts, the tongues of men slain were actually brought in by the warriors, so that each might show how many had fallen to his arms. *Rev. Celt.*, i. 261.

CHAPTER XV

THE SACRIFICE OF A CHILD

On the principle of giving their best, men have often sacrificed their own children to the gods—to us the most cruel aspect of human sacrifice. It would be surprising if the memory of such rites had not survived in folk-tales, and in those stories where a child is promised to a certain being, usually malicious, but occasionally kindly, we may see some dim and distorted memory of the sacrifice surviving.

1. One aspect of this custom is seen in that group of tales in which childless parents agree to give up their first-born to someone who offers to remove the wife's barrenness. A Greek story relates that a woman prayed to the sun for a daughter. The prayer was granted on condition that she would give the child in her twelfth year to the sun. To evade this, the girl was shut up in a house, every window and cranny of which was closed. But the keyhole was forgotten, and through that a ray of light came and seized upon the girl.[1] In an Albanian variant the

[1] This story may be a memory of human sacrifice to the sun-god in ancient Greece. On the other hand, it appears to be a distorted version of the cycle in which a girl is impregnated by the sun, or some other being, no matter how carefully she is concealed. Even here the common idea of sacrifice of virginity to a god or his priest may have moulded the tale. *Cf.* Hahn, i. 245. In many stories the girl is hidden because it has been prophesied that her child will kill

sun, after capturing the girl, lets her return home because she cries! The true type of this story cycle makes some being promise the father several children if he will give up the first-born; this being is a demon in Venetian and Greek tales, and, in Hungarian and Gipsy stories, a witch who gives a childless queen a camomile flower to carry in her bosom. A fairy does this in a Tuscan story, but here the mother is only to give her a gift, not the child; she omits to do this, and, in consequence, her son is born small and never grows. Have we here a reminiscence of some custom of buying off the child by means of a present or fine?[1]

The story is common enough in the East, for a reason which will appear hereafter. A Bengali king receives a drug from a mendicant which will cause his wife to bear twins, one of whom he will claim. In the boy's sixteenth year the mendicant arrived and took him away. His brother, in the sequel, rescued him

the king and inherit his throne. This is, of course, the old myth of Danaë, shut up in the brazen tower, but visited there by Zeus as a shower of gold. She and her son Perseus were committed to the waves in a chest, but rescued. In the sequel Danaë's father, Acrisius, was killed by Perseus. Such a myth or folk-tale, as well as another in which danger is prophesied regarding a newly-born child, must have had a great vogue in ancient times, and attached itself to many mythic or actual personages—Paris, Œdipus, Cyrus, whose parents tried to get rid of them on account of such a dream or prophecy. It also occurs in several modern folk-tales, as well as in the fragment of an ancient Egyptian tale. It has even penetrated, perhaps *via* Egypt long ago, to Uganda, where it is told of a member of the Unyoro dynasty. Bukuku had a daughter called Nyinamiru, of whom a sorcerer prophesied that if she ever had a son he would kill Bukuku. She was accordingly isolated in the forest, where a stranger seduced her. The mother herself threw the child into the water, but it was rescued by her servant and brought back. In the sequel, the child killed his grandfather and obtained the throne. Johnston, ii. 596.

[1] Dozon, No. 7, p. 49; Widter and Wolf, No. 13; Hahn, No. 68; Gubernatis, *Trad. Pop.*, p. 187. In a Czech story twins are promised to a father by a black horseman, provided he gives him up one of them.

from a cannibal rakshasi, who now kindly advised them how to escape from the mendicant, who meant to offer the first brother as a sacrifice to Kali. In Kumaun the bargain is made by a yogi with a king who has seven childless wives. Six of them eat the fruit which he obtains; the seventh eats the rind. Each has a son, but none will give up hers save the seventh, and her son is accordingly carried off. A demon is the *deus ex machina* of a Syriac story, and carries off the merchant's first-born son to the underworld, from which he escapes, as in many stories in other cycles, by the aid of a horse whose proper food he has set before it. The Swahilis tell how a childless sultan met a demon, who said, "If I give you a medicine and you get a son, what will you give me?" Nothing would suffice him. Then, being a crafty demon, he said, "Well, your wife will have two children. Keep one, and give me the other." After carrying off the boy, the demon gave him the keys of his house and said, "Open what you like." Curiously, the usual restriction is not made, and the boy sees many strange things without fault being found. In the seventh room a horse informs him that the demon is a cannibal, and means to make a feast of him. The horse then instructs him what to do, with the result that the demon is boiled in his own cauldron and eaten by his friends, while the boy gets all his treasure and marries a sultan's daughter. In an Arab story it is a magician who gives a childless king bonbons for himself and his wife. The first-born son, whom he takes, finds a girl in a garden which he was apparently forbidden to enter. They flee together, but the magician rushes after them. He is finally disposed of by the youth, after a long transformation conflict.[1]

Though witches, magicians, demons, and fairies

[1] Day, p. 196. Minaef, No. 46, *cf.* chap. xi. p. 311; Prym and Socin, No. 58; Steere, p. 381; Spitta Bey, p. 1.

figure in most of these stories, the bargain must have been originally made with a divinity. Trace of this is found in the Greek story; in that from Bengal, the boy is to be offered to Kali; while in another tale from the *Kathakoça*, Queen Rati promises that she will sacrifice the child of the co-queen to the family goddess if she herself is blessed with a son.[1] Again, in the *Aitareya Brahmana* Harischandra prays to Varuna for a son, promising to offer the child as a sacrifice to the god. After the child's birth he seeks to evade the promise, and is about to offer a substitute when the latter is miraculouly set free. On the other hand, as the magical remedy is often, in folk-tales, obtained from a magician, so it is in actual practice. Thus, in Kashmir, at the present day, folk-tale and custom coincide, and fakirs have the power to grant children through some special fruit-eating.[2] Indeed, medicines and charms for causing fruitfulness form a regular trade in the East, and support a whole army of charlatans.[3] But it is the most natural thing in the world that a divinity should be prayed to, and among all people some of the earliest and most important deities are those who grant fertility to women as well as to field and fold. And, in truth, the custom of barren women praying to a divinity, at the graves of ancestors, or at any sacred place, and accompanying the prayer with sacrifice or with the promise of one, is universal. The Dyaks offer fowls to the water-goddess; the people of the Sulu Archipelago place the sacrifice on the ancestral graves, the husband meanwhile reserving a goat till his wife proves to be pregnant. On the Gold Coast women make sacrifice to the fetich-god, while

[1] Tawney, p. 48. [2] Knowles, p. 416, *note*.

[3] *Ananga Ranga*, p. 53. *Cf.* p. 54, where prescriptions for fertility are given. Such "medicines" are also supplied by the West African fetich-doctor. *Cf.* Nassau, p. 332, for a folk-tale based on this practice.

Malagasy women present small offerings at the sacred stones, and a folk-tale current there tells of a woman who obtained from a water-spirit in exchange for a sacrifice, pebbles which became male children.[1] Offerings of a sheep are promised by barren Syrian women at the shrine of saints, if the saint will grant them a child; the practice is certainly pre-Islamic. It is not improbable that all such sacrifices have taken the place of an earlier offering of the first-born, who removed the curse of barrenness, or of a dedication of the child to the divinity. When an Otchi negress has prayed to a fetich for a child, the child is considered the property of the fetich, and is called a "fetich-child." While, among the Syrians, a child may be vowed to a saint, yet "in that case the child is not slain, as may once have been the case, but is redeemed."[2]

In the Czech, Bengali, and Swahili variants a twin child has to be given up. Now, among many peoples, when twins are born, it is thought that one of them must be the offspring of a god who has united himself to the mother. So, of the twins which Alcmene bore, Heracles was son of Zeus, Iphicles of her husband; among the Yorubas and Damaras one of the twins is always called after a certain god; and the Melanesians think that one or both of the children is the offspring of a spirit.[3] Perhaps in earlier times such a twin would be sacrificed; at all events among other peoples, twins being thought abnormal, one or both of them, and sometimes also the mother, is killed or sacrificed. Thus, though the evidence is

[1] Hartland, *Perseus*, i. 168; Featherman, 1st div., p. 139; *F.L.J.*, i. 341.

[2] Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion*, pp. 157, 167. *Otchi*, Ploss, i. 437. Dedication of a first-born child to Jehovah was the rule in the Old Testament. We may also note Jephthah's vow: he may have actually offered up his daughter as a burnt-offering.

[3] Ellis, *Yoruba*, p. 67. Codrington, p. 235.

incomplete, it points to a primitive custom of sacrificing a first-born child in cases where barrenness had been removed.[1]

2. We now come to several cycles of stories introduced by the formula of a child's being promised to some being for services rendered to the father. The promise is made (*a*) consciously, in which case there are several varieties of it, or (*b*) it is made without any suspicion of its real import.

(*a*) Malbrouk, say the Basques, was the son of poor parents, and just before his birth his father met a gentleman who offered him much wealth if he would make him godfather to the child. At the baptism the stranger disappears with baby, and carries him off to his wife, who is a witch. In seven years the boy is allowed to return home for three days, and brings back his two brothers with him. The witch now urges her husband to put them all to death, but through Malbrouk's stratagem (as in many Youngest Son tales) he kills his own daughters by mistake, and the brothers escape with his seven-league boots. In a Lorraine variant, "le bon Dieu" is the godfather, coming for the boy in his seventh year and always helping him, while Christ and the Virgin are the godparents in a Breton story of this type.[2]

In another series, of which there are Italian, Spanish, and Basque variants, things turn out happily for the father. The story is one in which the Promised Child incident is worked up with that of

[1] Miss Kingsley, pp. 455, 460 (Benin, Jakir tribe, Bonny). Children born with teeth are also destroyed, and, with several African tribes, those who cut their upper teeth first. In England cutting the upper teeth first is regarded as ominous of death in infancy—relic of a time when the infant was killed.—Gomme, *Folk-Lore Relics*, p. 180. *Cf.* p. 397 *supra*. Both twins are destroyed among the natives of North Central Australia as uncanny.—Spencer and Gillen, p. 609.

[2] Webster, p. 77. *Cf.* p. 133; Cosquin, ii. 260; Sébillot, iii., No. 13.

the Grateful Debtor, and in the Basque version it runs thus. A man paid the debts of a dead debtor, whose soul, in the shape of a fox, rescued the man from death later on on condition that he would give him half of the child soon to be born him, or (in a second version) "half of what he has at present, and half of what he will have." When the promise is to be redeemed the man is about to cut his child in two, when, as in the case of Abraham and Isaac, his hand is stayed, and the fox reveals himself.[1]

From the *Pentamerone* we may cite an example of a third type. A peasant is commanded by a huge lizard to bring his youngest daughter. The lizard is a fairy, who gives the girl everything. Presently a prince comes by and asks her to marry him. Off she goes without looking once at the good fairy, who thereupon gives her a goat's face. Her own face is only restored to her when she has learned humility and gone on her knees to the fairy.[2]

The next series may be called that of "The Devil Outwitted"; it begins with the incident of a child, already born, sold to the devil by his poor parents. The Breton version describes how the devil is to come for the boy in seven years. Meanwhile he receives a magic rod from the Virgin, by means of which he overcomes the devil and forces him to give up the bond. In the sequel he takes up his residence in a haunted tower, where the devil, recognising him, is glad to show him where vast treasures are concealed. A Tuscan version replaces the Virgin with the boy's godmother, while, in Lorraine, the boy is no less a person than St Etienne who carries holy

[1] Webster, pp. 149, 153. *Italian*, Crane, p. 131; *Spanish*, Caballero, p. 23.

[2] Burton, i. 78. In a Basque version the girl is throughout grateful to the queen of the fairies, to whom her poor mother has sold her before birth. Grimm's story of "The Woodcutter's Child" has many points of similarity, so has the Scots version.—Chambers, p. 64.

water to hell, and escapes after asperging the devils to their intense agony. Some versions of this story are, however, introduced by a formula common to the second type, in which the father promises without realising what he has promised. Thus the father promises the devil "what his wife carries," not knowing she is with child, in Lorraine and Italian versions, or "what he loves better than himself," according to a Wallachian story.[1]

Still another idea appears in the next series, where children are promised on condition that one of them is given up in order to marry the daughter of the being who makes the promise. The marriage is not expressly mentioned in the fine Celtic version of this story, but it is hinted at. A sea-maiden asks a poor fisherman what he would give her if she sent him plenty of fish: "Wilt thou give me the first son thou hast?" He and his wife are too old to have children, but the sea-maiden gives him certain grains which he is to give to his wife, his mare, and his dog, each of whom will have three offspring, but one of the sons must be hers. Three years came to an end, at which time the sea-maiden appeared with a child of her own —presumably the destined bride of the fisherman's son, to whom she granted other four years' stay with his father, and at the end of that time, seven years more. As the term approached, the fisherman was full of sorrow, and his son must know what it was. The youth was willing to go to the sea-maiden, but his father would not allow him. Off he sets to seek his fortune elsewhere. The story now merges into the Perseus and Andromeda cycle; we resume it after the hero has married the rescued girl. One day the pair were walking by the loch when a terrible sea-beast (*i.e.*, the sea-maiden) "carried him away to the loch without fear or asking." Advised by a smith,

[1] Sébillot, i. 29. *Tuscan F.T.*, No. 10, p. 102; Cosquin, ii. 231; *ibid.*, ii. 307; Comparetti, No. 41; Schott, No. 15.

the bride carried the finest of her possessions to the shore and offered them all to the beast in exchange for her husband. The exchange was made, but soon after the wife herself was carried off. Finally her rescue was effected by the soul of the sea-beast being destroyed.[1] In Naxos the son is promised to the Mother of the Sea, in order to marry her daughter. When he is taken down to the shore, the *sea* throws herself on the beach and the youth runs off. Long after, he bathes in the sea and is carried off, and forced to marry the Mother of the Sea's daughter. His first wife bargained for a sight of him, and as soon as he appeared out of the water he transformed himself into an eagle and flew off, never going near the sea again.[2] The confusion here between the Mother of the Sea and the sea itself, is naive and primitive, and suggests a point in the argument which will presently be referred to.

(*b*) Of stories where the promise is made without suspicion of its real nature, there is an immense variety, and only a few can be indicated here. It will be convenient to divide them according to the formula used. The simplest is that made use of by a "stranger" in a Finn story. He appears to a man who has lost his way in the forest and offers to set him right if he will give him "what he has at home." This turns out to be a beautiful child.[3] Usually this formula is extended into giving "what he has at home and yet has not seen." A Polish merchant travelling through a forest, fell into a bog, from which he was rescued by a spirit on the same condition. On returning home, the merchant is

[1] Campbell, i. 72. Several variants are given; in one, the sea-maiden swallows the hero, and the wife recovers him by playing to the maiden, who shows her first his head, then his body to the waist, then places him on her palm, when he changes into a falcon and flies off.

[2] Garnett, ii. 208. [3] *Suomen Kansan*, i. 151.

grieved to find that there is a boy just born. Years pass; the boy sees his father's grief, inquires the cause, and sets out to recover the bond. By means of holy water, which he carries with him to hell, he recovers it and terrifies the spirits.[1] Another formula occurs in a spirited Magyar tale. A king loses his way, and calls on God, who will not help him because he never goes to church. He called on the devil, who assisted him at once in exchange for the gift of what he has not got in his house, viz., the daughter who is not yet born. In ten years the devil arrives, and is given (1) the swineherd's daughter, (2) the shepherd's, but kills them both and demands the real girl. He takes her to hell, where his son Johnnie helps her in the tasks set her, and finally flees with her. In the course of their flight the usual transformation incidents occur, but the pair escape and are happily married.[2]

This story has several points in common with a large group introducing another formula. A Danish king was in danger of losing his life in a swamp when a dwarf met him, and saved his life on condition "that the first young thing you see on your return home, shall belong to me." Alas, this was the newly-born prince. After several periods of delay, gained by several large gifts to the dwarf, Prince Vildering has to go. In the dwarf's castle he meets Maid Miseri, the stolen daughter of a king, who has acquired magic arts, and helps the hero in the tasks he must perform. At last the dwarf finds them out, and resolves to cook and eat them. Flight is resolved on, but not before the oven is taught to speak in Vildering's voice. Then the dwarf sends his men

[1] Naake, p. 226. The tale embodies the common incident of the hero being told by a robber to see what fate will be his in hell, and his repentance on discovering it, and his subsequent meeting with the hero, now become a bishop.

[2] Jones, p. 188.

after the pair, who change themselves into a briar and a rosebud. The dwarf next pursues them, but sees only a church and a priest saying mass. Then his mother sets off, to meet her fate at the lake on which Vildering and Miseri swim as a duck and drake. The North German variant introduces a witch in the form of a black poodle, who obtains Gold Maria, the child of a nobleman and his wife, under similar circumstances. Her subsequent adventures with Gold Feather, a prince in the witch's power, are similar to Vildering's. In a Swedish version, a king's ship is held fast by a mermaid, and only released on his promising to give her whatever he meets first on the shore. This is his son. The king casts his eyes instantly on a hog and a goose, which are thrown into the sea, but at once cast back on the shore, and the boy has to be given up to the mermaid. A stratagem is employed by the Esthonian king of the Golden Land when he is thus victimised by the devil. He takes a peasant's daughter into his palace, and sends his son to be brought up in the cottage. The devil is cheated, but when the boy hears of this, he takes service with the devil to rescue the girl. The story then proceeds with the tasks accomplished by her aid and the transformation flight. A Russian version uses another formula: the Water King helping a monarch on condition that he gives up whatever at home he doesn't know of. As usual, this is his son, who, on his way to the Water King's abode, obtains power over his daughter, a swan-maiden, who assists him in the usual way. There are several Russian versions of this story, where a King Bear, the Water Chudo, the Devil, and in one case an idol, take the place of the Water King. In a Celtic version, a king promises his first-born child to a giant in return for his help, and tries to palm off the cook's son and the butler's son. "Out here thy son" cries the giant, "or else——." Here, as in the Russian tale, the

youth is assisted by the giant's daughter.[1] There are also German, Norse, Wallachian, and Lithuanian versions, where, usually, the devil figures prominently.[2]

Sometimes it is a woman who is released from some difficulty, and in this case the formula is "to give up what she carries under her heart, or under her girdle," viz. the child whose presence is as yet unsuspected, to the devil (Lapp, Esthonian) or to a mermaid (Swedish). The Esthonian woman cheats the devil by throwing him her apron as the thing "she carried night and day under her heart."[3]

3. The stories already cited speak of the child as being given up for service done, but in many others he or she is an actual ransom to preserve the parent from death. Thus the following may be taken as an example of several Italian stories. A woman is caught by a witch while stealing from her garden. The witch threatens to eat her, but sets her free if she will give up her child as soon as born. The girl is kept a prisoner, but kindly treated, ultimately escaping with a prince who sees her by accident.[4] Of another type is a Finnish story, where a man drinking from a lake is caught by a sea-troll, and only released by promising to bring the troll his daughter. This is the usual introductory formula to many stories of the Forbidden Chamber cycle, where the being who holds the father to ransom turns out to be a blessing in disguise. Thus a Swedish king, having promised to bring his daughters a present, is asked by the youngest for "the three singing

[1] Mulley, p. 166; Thorpe, *Y.T.S.*, p. 441; *ibid.*, p. 205; Kirby, i. 152; Ralston, p. 120 *seq.*; Campbell, i. 27.

[2] Grimm, "The Handless Maiden"; Dasent, ii. 26; Schleicher, No. 26; Schott, p. 2, 15.

[3] *F.L.R.*, 1884, p. 10; Kirby, i. 186; Thorpe, *Y.T.S.*, p. 192.

[4] Crane, pp. 25, 26; *cf.* Basile, i. 141. Grimm's "Rapunzel" is a variant of this.

leaves." As he is about to take these, Prince Hatt under the Earth forbids him, unless he brings him the first living thing he meets on his way home. This is, of course, his youngest daughter, who is married to Prince Hatt, but breaks the tabu with startling results. Here the ransom is obscured, but it is clear enough in similar tales from Lorraine, Hesse, Iceland, Hanover, and Lithuania, where a wolf, a lion, a dog, a spaniel, and a wolf respectively appear at the critical moment and threaten instant death to the father if he will not bring whatever he meets first.[1]

The same idea of a ransom appears in many stories of the Rumpelstiltskin cycle, which has already been separately treated. We pass on, therefore, to a third form of the ransom type, where, as in a Sicilian story, the friend of a prince takes leprosy, and can only be cured by being bathed with the blood of the prince's child. The cure is revealed by St James of Gonzenbach. Sorrowfully the prince makes the sacrifice, but next morning the child is found whole and living. This is the beautiful mediæval story of Amis and Amile, and is found everywhere. One Eastern version from the *Vetala-pantchavinçati* may be cited. Viravara is sent by the king to discover why a woman is crying. She cries because danger menaces the king, and it can only be warded off by Viravara sacrificing his son to Devî. He does so, and then kills himself. In his distress the king is about to commit suicide, when Devî relents and restores both child and father.[2] There is, however, another version of the story which is equally widespread, and is intro-

[1] *Suomen Kansan*, ii. 146; Thorpe, *Y.T.S.*, p. 15; Cosquin, ii. 216; Grimm, No. 88; Arnason, p. 278; Colshorn, No. 20; Leskien, No. 23. Many others might be cited, but in all the animal, etc., turns to an enchanted prince.

[2] Crane, p. 202; Pater, *The Renaissance*, p. 11; Benfey, p. 146.

duced into every collection of Eastern tales. The friend of a king learns that he is in danger, but at the same time discovers the way to save him, though if ever he reveals the secret he will be turned to stone. Faithful to the end, he is found in questionable situations, and the king demands an explanation. The friend is turned to stone. But it is also revealed that he will recover life if the king's son is slain, and his blood rubbed on the statue. When this sacrifice is made, the friend comes to life and goes off to seek the Water of Life, with which he restores the little child. Modified by Christianity, the incident of the child's death and restoration are utilised to confirm belief in the miraculous power of the saints. But in the more primitive and pagan versions of the story the child has clearly been offered as a sacrifice to the gods, who, in turn, restore the petrified man.[1]

What is true of this small group of stories is true of all those we have discussed, but especially of all in which the devil is the being to whom the child is promised. The devil has replaced some early divinity whom Christianity invested with diabolic form. At other times the earlier pagan god is less disguised. Thus, we have the Sun, the Water King, or the Mother of the Sea (evidently water-divinities), or a sea-maiden, or a giant or dwarf, or as in the Russian story, an idol. In others, again, the minister of the divinity is suggested by the witch or wizard, both sheer pagans. Where the child, born or unborn, is made over on account of service done, the idea of a sacrificial propitiation, of a *quid pro quo*, is quite apparent. It was firmly rooted in the pagan mind that man could get nothing from the gods except by offering some equivalent. We have already seen in the previous chapter how water-spirits or monsters lay a toll on human life, sometimes by way of giving

[1] Grimm's story of Faithful John may serve as a type; *cf.* Cosquin, i. 38; Day, p. 42; Hahn, No. 29; Crane, p. 85.

permission to men to take the waters which they guard. Stories where someone is seized while drinking, and made to give up his child, are a reminiscence of such beliefs and actual sacrifices. In those stories where the promise is made without suspicion of its real nature we may see only the dramatic art of the primitive novelist inventing a strong situation. But just as likely we are face to face with the survival of an early custom—the vow made to a god by some grateful worshipper to give him the first living thing that met him on his return home. Gratitude often overpowers reason, and the possibilities involved in such a vow would not be realised in a moment of emotion.[1] In the last group of stories, where the father escapes certain death by giving up his child, there is evident reference to some custom of buying oneself off from a superior power, and therefore to sacrifices of expiation.[2]

If this explanation be correct, such stories of a promise made must have arisen at a time when human sacrifices (especially of children) were passing away, and only a memory of them remained. Perhaps in the earliest forms of the story the child was actually killed, as in the Amis and Amile group, and some tales may then have described how he escaped the sacrificial knife. But the final form of the story was different. The child only fell into the power of a superior being, and this offered ample scope for invention and imagination to suggest a sequel. Christianity further modified the tale by bringing in the devil and the power of holy water;

[1] If the story of Jephthah is not a Hebrew folk-tale, it affords an actual instance of such a sacrificial vow, common, no doubt, in Canaanite paganism.

[2] In the Swedish story cited above, though the promise made serves as a mere introduction to a story of another type, Prince Hatt under the Earth may be the dim memory of a chthonian deity to whom human victims were offered.

while the story itself served often as a fitting introduction to others of a different type, as in the Cupid and Psyche series.

There is sufficient evidence that children were actually sacrificed to divinities among many races. The case of two widely separated races, the Semites and the Celts, may be cited. Of the practice among the former the Old Testament makes us aware. The King of Moab sacrificed his eldest son and heir-apparent when "the battle was too sore for him." Such sacrifices were made to the sun-god, called Chemosh in Moab, and Milcom among the Ammonites.[1] The Phœnicians also used this practice, and Israel adopted it from time to time, in spite of the righteous anger of the prophets.[2] The custom was common among the pre-Semitic peoples, but even the Babylonians seem to have adopted it for a time—the child being sacrificed to redeem the life of the father,[3] while among the Carthaginians the extent of the practice shocked the Romans,

> "Flagrantibus aris,
> Infandum dictu, parvos imponere natos."[4]

Human sacrifices were common enough among the Celts, and here, too, the offering of children was a usual practice. In Ireland a god called Cromm Cruach (Bloody Bow) was worshipped, and first-born children were sacrificed to him "with numerous cries

[1] 2 Kings iii. 27; recent excavations in Palestine have shown the extent to which the custom prevailed among the Canaanites. A "High Place" was unearthed, and a number of jars containing the bones of newly-born infants discovered—the remains of ghastly sacrifices.—*Times* report, 23rd June 1903.

[2] The Phœnicians offered "the dearest of their offspring," Eusebius, *Præp.*, i. 10; Lev. xx. *seq.*; Ps. cvi. 36; 2 Chron. xxviii. 3; Jer. vii. 31.

[3] Sayce, *Gifford Lecture*, 1903, p. 467.

[4] *Silius Italicus*, iv. 767.

and wailings," for the purpose of obtaining milk and corn. Similarly we are told that the Fomoré (interpreted as gods of darkness and night), required a third of the children, corn, and milk belonging to each tribe, on November first.[1] There is sufficient evidence to show that the practice occurred sporadically among Scandinavians and Greeks, in Peru, China, Melanesia, and Samoa.[2] That it was universal and inevitable is not yet proved, but, if our interpretation of the promise made in folk-tales is correct, it was, at least all too common. In most of these stories it is a ruler who offers his child, and Dr Frazer has noted how often a king's son is devoted as a victim, because being of royal he is *ipso facto* of divine blood. Meanwhile, a few instances of child sacrifice at a lower stage of culture may be referred to. Among the Khonds, who sacrificed young maidens to the earth goddess, some would *sell* their children for this purpose, and generally the victim was purchased from people of another race. Compare with this the bargain made by the parent in our tales. Similar sacrifices occurred with the Pawnees, the girl victim being carefully tended for six months before-

[1] *Book of Leinster*, p. 213. *Cf.* the *Leabhar Gabala.*

[2] Mallet, *North. Ant.*, i. 112, 134. For the Greeks it is sufficient to cite Agamemnon's sacrifice of Iphigenia and the myth of the annual offering of boys and girls to the Minotaur. *Peru*, Reville, *Hibbert Lecture*, p. 218. *Melanesia*, Codrington, p. 135. *Samoa*, see p. 402 *supra.* Mr J. G. Frazer thinks that the account of the slaughter of the first-born of Egypt before the Exodus is a corrupt following of an earlier story which told how the first-born of Israel had to be put to death. This he assumes to have been a regular custom. The argument is as ingenious and as worthless as many of those used to explain away the force of the words in the Prayer-book which prescribe the position of the priest at celebrating. The Australian instance of sacrifice of the first-born is discounted by his own statement that there is no propitiation of gods by sacrifice there. Neither there is, but there is infanticide, quite a different practice, and one which an uneducated settler might easily confuse with a religious rite. —See *Golden Bough*, iii. 48.

hand; while at Lagos the young girl who was impaled at the spring equinox was bred up in the king's seraglio, and her mind so wrought on by the priests that she would go cheerfully to the sacrifice.[1] If the practice of selling children for sacrificial victims was ever common, it might easily give rise in later times to the idea of selling a child to the devil. A very striking case from the Brass River territory of an animal divinity seeking its own victim is described by Count de Cardi. The ju-ju snake sometimes secured a child by going into a house when the elders were absent or asleep. If the mother attempted to rescue it, she was either killed or fined.[2] Such an instance would make an admirable folk-tale: indeed, the procedure of the snake is not unlike that of the sea in the Naxos story, or of the Sea-maiden in the Gaelic tale.

The custom of sacrificing a human victim at the foundation of any building, to propitiate the earth-spirit, or to provide a guardian ghost for the building itself, may also have influenced the Promise stories, especially as the victim was most frequently a child. Copious legends, Celtic, Teutonic, Slavonic, and Scandinavian, show that the custom was once common enough in Europe; indeed, the necessity for such a sacrifice remained till quite recently in folk-belief.[3] The practice existed among the Semites: Hiel, the Bethelite, laid the foundation of Jericho in his first-born son; there is a universal belief in such sacrifices in India; we find it also in Africa, in Borneo, and in China. A curious illustration of those tales where a child is bought from its parents occurs in a Thuringian legend of the castle of

[1] MacPherson, *Mem. of India*, p. 115. G. Allen, *Attis*, pp. 53, 117.

[2] Miss Kingsley, p. 490.

[3] Nennius, *Hist. Brit.*, p. 40; O'Curry, *Manners of Ancient Irish*, i. Intro. 133.

Liebenstein, where the mother sold her child, which was then walled in.[1]

Here two independent traces of child-sacrifice may be referred to. The folk-lore of witches in connection with child-birth in Scandinavian and Teutonic countries shows them as at once beneficent and harmful. They assist the mother and lighten her pains, but they will exercise evil influence on those who do not submit to them, and all children born on Walpurgis night belong to them. Mr Karl Pearson sees in this a relic of the time when the powerful priestess of the Mother-age civilisation acted as "medicine-woman and midwife, relieving human suffering, putting the symbol of the goddess in the cradle, but taking her tithe of human life for sacrifice to the goddess."[2] Witches, in current belief, kill and eat children, boiling them down—relic of a sacrificial feast to the goddess of fertility. There is nothing improbable in this theory; indeed, it is difficult to explain otherwise how such a piece of witch-lore could have arisen.

Again, and still more universally, the fairy-changeling superstition may, in part at least, have had a sacrificial origin. Mother and child were in special danger from the "good people," because, in popular belief, they had to give a tribute of a living soul to the devil, and preferred giving a human child to one of their own.[3] This, a late popular explanation of the changeling superstition, may be dismissed.

[1] 1 Kings xvi. 34. *F.L.R.*, iv. 186. Waitz, *Anthropologie*, ii. 197. St John, i. 46. Dennys, p. 133. G. Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 119. Many other instances will be found in a paper by Mr Baring-Gould, *Murray's Magazine*, March 1887. *Cf.* Tylor, *Prim. Cult.*, vol. i.

[2] *Chances of Death*, ii. 32.

[3] Scott's *Minstrelsy*, p. 221. Lady Wilde, *Ancient Legends*, i. 70. Keightley, *Fairy Mythology*, *passim*. Mr Nutt offers another theory for the origin of the changeling superstition, *Voyage of Bran*, i. 229.

But, as there is reason to believe that, in one aspect, fairies were once a living race—a pygmy people living in different parts of Europe, who, as many folk-tales show, stole the fair women and children of the taller race, it is quite possible that one reason of their taking the children was for sacrificial purposes in order that their own children might be exempt.

Other beliefs and customs may also have had some influence in shaping these tales of a promise. There is a universal belief that mother and child are particularly at the mercy of evil spirits as of fairies,[1] but such a belief is in itself enough to have originated the idea of a father bargaining with a spirit for his child. Last of all, the common practice of infanticide, originating as a means of relief from scarcity,[2] and the custom of selling children into slavery—a custom which actually existed in cases of necessity in Saxon England—may quite conceivably have coloured the stories which have been discussed, and many of which speak of a poor man, burdened with children, selling or giving up one of them almost without regret.

The memory of all such sacrifices and customs would remain long after the sacrifices themselves had passed away. In many cases, such is the persistence of custom, the sacrificial ceremony was gone through in mimicry ages after the need for it had passed away;[3] in others it survived as a curious piece of

[1] *Cf.* Crawley, *Mystic Rose*, *passim*.

[2] See Maclennan, *Studies in Ancient History*, chap. vii., "Female Infanticide."

[3] Among the Basaga, who worship trees, a little girl is laid at the foot of one; the sacrificial ritual is gone through; a slight incision is made in her neck, and she is thrown into the water, where a man is ready to catch her. She is then dedicated to a life of perpetual virginity. In former times the actual sacrifice took place.—Johnston, ii. 720. Many similar empty rites might be cited.

folk-lore symbolism. But the memory of such sacrifices must have been weakened as time went on, and gradually took the form of giving up a child to some power more or less maleficent. That the child should have escaped may have been a reflection of actual escape from sacrifice; more often, perhaps, it arose from the necessity of finding a fitting sequel to the injustice of handing the child over to such a power. That the designs of that power were evil, is shadowed forth in some tales which have been cited; but as the idea of child-sacrifice became more and more incredible we find that the being became benevolent, and only meant well to the child in depriving it of parental care. Hence arose those tales in which Christ, the Virgin, or a saint becomes the child's godparent, and brings him to prosperity and success.

The practice of dedicating a child to a divinity has been indicated in some of the tales cited, and it, rather than actual sacrifice, has doubtless helped to shape the Promise formula in some respects. This comes out most clearly in tales of the Transformation Combat cycle, already discussed, in which the father either promises or apprentices his son to a sorcerer or demon.[1] Then, as in Danish and other versions, if he cannot find him at the end of four years, the boy will remain in the sorcerer's power for ever. In all cases the boy escapes with great difficulty. The sorcerer, of course, is the earlier medicine-man or priest. We have already noted the case of the fetich-child among the Otchi negroes, and the dedication of the first-born to Yah-weh among the Semites, *e.g.*, Samuel. So Miss Kingsley informs us that it is usual for parents in West Africa to "apprentice" a child to the fetich-priest,

[1] See p. 164 *supra*, "Transformation."

who gets a premium with him.[1] This is not unlike the introductory episode of some of our tales.

[1] Miss Kingsley, p. 171. *Cf.* Maurice Delafosse, *L'Anthropologie*, iv. 433, who says that among the Agni of the Gold Coast little girls have to be given up to the confraternities of women priests, who are much feared, with the view of bringing them up in perpetual virginity.

CHAPTER XVI

JACK AND THE BEANSTALK

THE mythological school represented by the writings of De Gubernatis, Cox, Max Müller, and others, have found the origin of folk-tales in the myths of the Aryan race. Folk-tales are the detritus of such Aryan myths, when the meaning of the myths themselves was long forgotten. The whole theory falls to the ground when it is discovered that exactly similar stories are told by non-Aryan races, and that the incidents of such stories are easily explainable by actual customs and ideas of savages and primitive folk everywhere.[1]

On the other hand, many folk-tales have originated as myths explanatory of existing customs, or by way of explaining phenomena which seemed to depend on these customs, and when the customs fell into desuetude the myths remained as folk-tales. The incidents of existing folk-tales, again, have frequently been embodied in mythologies—Greek, Celtic, Japanese.[2] Thus there is throughout an intimate connection between mythology and folk-tales, though not of the kind which De Gubernatis and others imagined. In studying the well-known story of Jack and the Beanstalk we shall see an excellent example of that connection; a primitive mythological way of regarding the universe has

[1] The new way of regarding the Aryan problem makes the theory still more untenable.

[2] *Cf.* pp. 10, 279.

suggested and given rise to the chief incident of our well-known nursery tale.

The main incidents in that story are these. Jack was the idle son of a poor widow, who sent him to sell her cow. Attracted by some coloured beans at the butcher's, he bartered the cow for them, to his mother's disgust. Next morning he found that the beans, which his mother had kicked away, had taken root, and formed, by intertwining, a ladder whose top was lost in the clouds. He climbed up and found himself in a strange land, where a fairy met him and told him how a giant had murdered his father, ill-treated his mother, and defrauded him of his inheritance. It was now ruled that Jack should revenge himself on the giant. The fairy directed him to the giant's house, where he asked for shelter. This the compassionate giant's wife gave him, though in fear and trembling, lest her cannibal husband should discover Jack. From his hiding-place he saw the giant at his supper, and after the meal was over, observed that a hen was brought him, which he commanded to lay an egg of gold. Then the giant slept; Jack crept forth from his hiding-place, seized the hen, and made for home. There he could not rest, and once more climbed the beanstalk, gained admittance to the giant's house as before, and this time stole his bags of gold. At the third visit he made off with the golden harp which played of its own accord, but as he was rushing away the harp called out "Master," and the giant awoke and pursued him. Down the road they both ran; Jack reached the tree, descended to the garden, and before the giant had climbed down very far, hacked it in two close to the root, so that tree and giant came tumbling down, and the giant was killed. But, of course, the way to the upper land was lost for ever.[1]

[1] Halliwell, p. 175.

This English folk-tale of the magic bean has few if any complete parallels to its main incidents, so far as these are connected with the tree. Separately, they have a wide range. The opening incident of the foolish bargain is a well-known folk-tale; sometimes the hero is ruined as the result of it; sometimes, as in the case of Jack, though in quite a different way, his bargain turns to fortune. The thefts from the giant, the speaking harp, and the giant's death, occur in many tales, some of which have been already met with.[1] What is peculiar to our story is the tree which reaches from earth to heaven. Clearly it has been borrowed from some earlier story to add more interest to another tale.

This is also evident from another group of tales in which the magic tree is introduced. That group, already discussed in the chapter dealing with magical objects, relates how a man obtains certain gifts which produce food and riches. They are stolen, but the thief is forced to replace them by means of a magic baton, which beats him until he confesses all.[2] Several stories of this group give a different turn to the usual introduction, relating how the gifts are obtained, by borrowing the incident of the magic tree. The usual formula is that a poor man is possessed of a single bean, which he plants. It grows and grows till it reaches heaven. He climbs it, arrives in heaven, and meets St Peter, or sometimes (as in the Lorraine version) God himself, who makes him a present of the magical objects one after another, after which the story continues in the stereotyped fashion. Of this there are Tuscan, Breton. Lorraine, and Flemish variants; but in a Corsican story the poor man arrives in a land where he sees a chestnut-tree so high that it reaches to heaven. He

[1] See p. 354. [2] See p. 214.

climbs it and obtains the gifts, as in the other stories.[1]

A third version of the magic-tree story brings us nearer what I imagine to be its primitive form. It occurs mainly as a Slavonic tale, and readily explains itself from Slavonic ideas of the future life. Among the Slavs, as we have seen, the idea that the dead are alive in the grave and do not go elsewhere is much accentuated.[2] But apart altogether from the Christian doctrine of heaven, and connected with earlier pagan belief, it is held that there is a magnificent land beyond the sky, where dwell supernatural beings, wealthy and powerful. That country, according to folk-tale, has been visited by favoured mortals, who have returned, like Jack, laden with its spoils. Some of these tales are fragmentary, others diverge into other stories. One relates how an old man and woman planted each a cabbage. The old man's cabbage grew to the sky; the woman's withered. He climbed up and up, made a hole in the sky, and saw there a magic mill which produced all sorts of food, of which he ate his fill. Then he returned to earth and told his wife, who at once wished to go there. The old man carried her by his teeth in a sack, but as he climbed his foot slipped, and the old woman fell down and was killed. Other variants have a bean or pea; in one the climber finds a stove garnished by all manner of desirable food, but watched by a seven-eyed goat. He charms six of its eyes to sleep, but the seventh sees him steal the food, and the goat calls out to the "house-master," who turns the man out. When he comes to the hole he finds the peastalk gone, but collecting cobwebs he makes a cord and descends. From the variants of this story group, as Mr Ralston points out, we learn

[1] Pitré, *Novelle*, No. 29. Sébillot, i. No. 12. Cosquin, ii. 168. Lootens, *Kindervertelsels*, No. 1. Ortoli, p. 171.

[2] See p. 103.

of a plentiful upper region, watched by many-eyed goats, by whom, or by the house-master, the intruder is turned out, while a second attempt to climb does not succeed, or even ends fatally.[1]

These folk-tales, and especially the Slavonic group, point to a primitive tale or myth concerning the relation existing between the world above the sky and this earth, and between their respective inhabitants, and relating the possibility of reaching that upper region. What that primitive story may have been like is suggested by some savage folk-tales. Here is a Dyak version. At one time men ate only fungi, till a party of Dyaks, with Si Jura, sailed off and came to a whirlpool, above which grew an enormous tree out of the sky, its branches just touching the waves. Si Jura climbed it to get fruit, then curiosity overcoming him, went higher till he reached the country of the Pleiades. There he met Si Kira, who gave him some boiled rice. "What! eat those maggots!" cried Si Jura. "They are not maggots, but rice," answered Si Kira, who thereupon instructed him in rice-cultivation. After a time Si Jura looked into a jar and saw his home and friends, and grew homesick. Si Kira cheered him up, and after giving him rice seeds, and instructing him as to harvest feasts and omens, let him down to his father's house by a long rope. Now the Dyaks order their farming operations by the position of the Pleiades.[2]

A Melanesian tale is the converse of this, so far as the lesson of civilisation is concerned. Kamakajaku was swallowed by a fish, which carried him to the sun-rising, where he cut his way through by means of a piece of obsidian. He followed the sun in its course and reached the heavens. Going on, he arrived at the village where the sun's children lived, and taught them how to make fire and cook food. One place, they told him, was tabu; he must not go there. But

[1] Ralston, p. 291 *seq.* [2] Ling Roth, i. 307.

after a time, curiosity overcame him; he went there, took up a stone, and found beneath it a hole in the sky. Far below he saw his native village, and at sight of it he wept. Then the people of the sky, taking pity upon him, lowered him down to earth by means of canes tied together, and he rejoined his friends, who had given him up for dead. The magic tree occurs in a Fijian tale. A boy was the son of a Tongan woman and Tui Langa, king of the sky. He set off to seek his father, and at night stuck his stick in the ground, and lay down to sleep. In the morning he found it had become a tree which reached to the sky. Here was a ready means of reaching his father, and, climbing up, he introduced himself as his son. Nothing is said of how he was received, but when he returned he was called "The Slayer from the Sky," from his habit of killing the local gods with one blow of his fist.[1]

An Australian story relates that when the divinity Baiamee left this earth, all the flowers withered. The wirreenuns (medicine-men) longed for them, and set off to the great Oobi-oobi mountain. For four days they climbed it, and at last reached the summit, where Baiamee's spirit-messenger asked them what they sought in that sacred place. On learning their wishes, the spirit bade the attendant spirits of the mountain carry them to Bullimah or heaven, where they could pluck its fadeless flowers and would then be carried back to the mountain. So they returned and gladdened the hearts of men with the flowers and with the spirit's message that earth would never be without flowers again. Who would expect such a poetic story from the despised black fellows? The mountain reappears in a Samoan story. Two of Tangaloa's heavenly people came down to earth and stole Lu's fowls. He went up to heaven from the top of a mountain to recover them, and reached the

[1] Codrington, p. 365. *F.L.J.*, v. 256.

tenth heaven, where Tangaloa gave him his daughter to wife, and told him to call the earth Samoa.[1]

In other cases the ascent is made to recover a lost wife, the divine lover of a mortal.[2] I have already referred to the Maori tale of Tawhaki and Hapai; in this legend he recovered her by climbing up to the sky on a spider's web, as the Melanesian hero brought back his ghost wife.[3] This is a favourite Polynesian story, and there are several versions of it; in one the husband ascends, not by a spider's web, but by a creeper which hung down from heaven and had taken root in the earth. There is also a Malay variant, in which when the husband pulls out the single white hair from the head of Utahagi, his heavenly wife, she returns to the sky. There he and her child rejoined her by clambering up the rattans, and he, like Tawhaki, became a god. These are variants of the Swan-maiden story, in which, when the supernatural wife returns to her own land, her husband sets out to seek her. That land is beyond the sea, or above the sky, but in the latter case it is never so distinctly stated as here how the husband reached it, save, perhaps, in the Melanesian story of Qat. His wife was a beautiful sky-woman, whom he had captured by taking her wings. Some time after, his mother scolded her; her tears made a hole in the ground, and revealed to her the hiding-place of her wings. She put them on and mounted skywards. On his return Qat shot an arrow

[1] Parker, 2nd series, p. 84. Turner, p. 13.

[2] The converse idea—that of the descent of a mortal to the region of the dead to rescue a dead wife or friend from the clutches of death, to obtain a boon, etc., is well known in mythology and folk-tale. In Greek mythology the story is told, *e.g.*, of Herakles, Dionysus, Orpheus, Odysseus; in Babylonian, of Ishtar and of Gilgames; in Scandinavian, of Hermode. Similar myths or tales are found among the Finns, Tartars, Esthonians, Hindus, Chinese, Japanese, Ainos, Maoris, Melanesians, Red Indians, and Eskimo. Folk-tales describing a descent to the underworld will be found on pp. 178, 239, 326, 351, 388.

[3] *Cf.* p. 347. Grey, p. 66. Tylor, *Early Hist. Man.*, p. 346. The Melanesian tale is cited on p. 333.

into the air; it stuck in the sky. Then he shot many more in succession, every fresh arrow sticking in the one before it until he was able to climb up into the sky upon them, and on a banyan root which had followed the arrows. He recovered his wife and was descending with her, when a man, hoeing in the sky, struck the banyan root. Poor Qat fell dead, and the woman flew back to heaven. The banyan root recalls Jack's beanstalk; the fate of Qat is the fate of other stormers of the sky in our tales.[1]

There is an Algonquin tale in which the maidens descend from the sky in a basket, and the human lover ascends thither with the one he has captured; while the descent is made by the daughters of the sun, in a Santal version, with the help of a spider's web. When an Arawâk hunter went to the sky with the vulture-maiden whom he had captured, and indiscreetly longed for earth, her relations set him on a prickly tree, from which spiders with their webs and birds with their wings helped him to reach the earth.[2] The idea of reaching or leaving the upper world by various means, tree, spider's web, basket, is thus well-marked in those versions of the Swan-maiden group of tales in which the lost wife is a divine daughter of the sky.

The magic tree reaching from earth to heaven is again found in stories relating how the sun was captured by a mortal. The Tawyans, a Mongol people, were once very powerful, but were ruined through trying to catch the sun. "Building a sort of Jacob's ladder, they mounted higher and higher; but growing tired, quarrelled amongst themselves, and one day while half of them were clambering up the pole, the other half below cut it down just as they were

[1] Codrington, p. 397. This Swan-maiden story is a close parallel to European and other versions in which the mother-in-law is to blame for the wife recovering her wings; etc.

[2] Farrer, p. 256. Cole, *Indian Antiquary*, 1875. Brett, p. 29.

about to seize the sun." In the *Kalevala*, Väinämöinen, by his magic power, makes a fir-tree grow till it touches the sky. The moon and the Great Bear constellation rested on its branches. Ilmarinen was persuaded to climb the tree to get them, but was blown off by a magic wind raised by Väinämöinen, and we hear no more of the tree. Among the American-Indians the hero of the Sun-catching story was more successful. The Wyandots say that a strong child, having killed the destroyers of his parents, wished to go to heaven, and climbed a tree for that purpose. The tree was too short; he blew upon it and lengthened it, till at last it brought him to the beautiful land above the skies. He descended to fetch his sister, and then returned, breaking down the tree so that none could follow him. Later he set snares for game, but captured the sun instead, and so long as it was in the snare day ceased on the earth till it was set free by a mouse. The story is also told among the Dog-rib Indians of the first man. A piece of wood which he stuck in the earth grew till it reached the sky. A squirrel ran up it, and was chased by the hero, Chapewee, who set a snare for it on the plain of the sky, catching the sun instead. Many animals were sent to release it, but were reduced to ashes. The mole alone was successful, but it lost its eyes and scorched its face, and that is why the mole is blind and has a brown nose.[1]

These widely separate stories, so similar in their incidents, of the ascent to heaven by a tree and the obtaining therefrom of some possession by theft or by gift, have their origin in man's myth-making faculty. "Why" was as much the question of early man as it is of the child or the scientist, and he was always wanting to know the causes of things. All parts of

[1] Keane, *Man: Past and Present*, p. 191. *Kalevala*, Rune x. Tylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 342-3, from Schoolcraft, iii. 320, and Richardson, *Narrative of Franklin's Second Expedition*, p. 291.

the universe were as much living as himself; heaven and earth, sun and moon, mountain and river, were persons. Thus he saw the heaven above him and the earth beneath him, and at once concluded that these two vast persons must be man and wife. Why then did they remain apart, and how had they been separated? By their children, said the Polynesians, and especially by Tane-mahuta, the god of the forest, planting his head on mother earth and pressing with his feet against the sky.[1] In other words, the lofty forest trees were believed to separate heaven and earth. From this it was an easy step to suppose that access to heaven could be gained by climbing some lofty tree. Ancient Greeks, Hindus, Chinese, and Red Indians, to mention a few examples, have similar ways of accounting for the separation.[2]

The next step was to suppose that "somewhere, surely, afar" there was some way of reaching heaven from earth. The apparent meeting of sky and earth at the horizon helped this view; thus, in later Egyptian mythology, heaven is represented as a vast man bending like a bow above the earth, which he touches with his hands and feet. Between are gods and men.[3] Sometimes, as in Japanese mythology, it was believed that the sky was supported by a pillar, while the country above where the gods dwelt was reached by a bridge or ladder. An arrow shot from earth could reach the sky, and make a hole in it.[4] The early Egyptians had a similar belief.

[1] Grey, chap. i. In Savage Island it is held that the first human beings, finding themselves hampered for room, separated Earth and Heaven by force.—Basil Thomson, *Savage Island*, p. 85.

[2] In the Red Indian myth a world-tree occurs, but it forms the ladder from the lower world to the earth's surface. When men first climbed thither, they found the sky resting on the earth, and Matcito, one of their hero-gods, removed it upwards by magical means.—Smithsonian Inst. Bureau of Ethnology, *Report*, 1881, p. 25.

[3] Wallis Budge, *Papyrus of Ani*, ciii.

[4] Chamberlain, *Ko-ji-ki*, pp. 18, 19; Griffis, *Rel. of Japan*, p. 69.

Heaven was supported by four pillars, and its floor was made of a huge plate of iron. The tops of the mountains reached nearly to this plate, but the dead gained access to it by means of ladders. So the people of Borneo believe that Kina Balu, their lofty mountain, is so near heaven that all good people can easily reach it from the top, while the wicked for ever scramble up the side only to fall down again. The Greeks had their myth of the Titans piling Mount Ossa on Olympus, and Mount Pelion on Ossa "with the trembling forest leaves," in order to scale heaven, as in the Semitic myth the builders of the tower of Babel thought to reach heaven by its means. The abode of Baiamee, as we have seen, is reached from a mountain-top in an Australian story, as is Tangaloa's heaven in the Samoan tale. According to pagan Slavonic belief, the dead had to climb a steep mountain of glass, on the top of which Paradise was situated. This idea reappears in Slavonic and Scandinavian tales, in which the young hero rescues a princess, or gains the hand of a fair being from the top of such a mountain.[1]

The mountain suggests, however, that heaven is far off; the earlier idea is that it is near, it *lies about us in our infancy.* To early man, looking up to the heavens through the leafy forest, it must have seemed, as it did to the Polynesian myth-maker, that the sky rested on the tops of the trees. Then as it seemed to recede into a remoter distance, arose the fable of one particular lofty tree which joined heaven and earth,

[1] Budge, *Egyptian Magic*, p. 51. Pryer, *J.A.I.*, 1886, p. 233. *Odyssey*, xi. 347. Genesis xi. Ralston, *Songs of the Russian People*, p. 109; *cf.* p. 368 *supra.* Sometimes the heaven of the gods is situated on a lofty mountain-top, like the Greek Olympus, or the Babylonian Arallu. So the Kirghiz say that on the top of Mustagh-ata (like Mount Demavend in Persia) is an ancient city built in the days of universal happiness. Since that ceased there has been no intercourse between its inhabitants, who are still happy, and the people of this earth.—Sven Hedin, *Through Asia*, i. 221.

as the mountains which the clouds touched did in other cases. Here is the *point de repère* of our magical trees, as it is also of the famous world-tree Igdrasil of the Scandinavians, its roots in Hel, "its boughs the History of Nations, the rustle of it the noise of Human Existence," its top reaching to Heaven. In the *Kalevala* we hear of a tree which, at the beginning of things, grew up above all trees till it touched the sky and darkened the sun and moon. But at Väinämöinen's request a giant was sent to hew it down.[1] Such a world-tree is that of the Polynesians, sixty miles high, or that other which forms a ladder to heaven. On its different sections are various repulsive insects which many people dare not pass. Those who can, reach the clear branches above, from which, as they sway to and fro in the wind, they are swung off into heaven. In Mexican mythology the brothers Quetzalcoatl and Tezcatlipoca after having, by their strife, caused the heavens to fall, raised them aloft and rested them on two mighty trees, The Tree of the Mirror and the Beautiful Great Rose-tree, on which they have ever since remained. I may refer to a curious variation of the world-tree idea among the Andamanese. Earth, not heaven, rests on a huge tree which will one day be upset by an earthquake. The living and the dead will then change places; hence the latter give the tree an occasional shake to hasten on matters and so displace the wicker ladder which connects it with heaven. The people of Guiana know of a different kind of tree—the Céiba-tree, of vast dimensions, its branches in the clouds, forming the seat of the Creator,

[1] Carlyle, *Heroes*, p. 19. *Kalevala*, Rune ii. The Bodhi tree in Ceylon is revered by Buddhists, and is held to be a parable of the universe; its trunk the connection between the visible and invisible worlds; the up and down growth of its branches and roots the restless striving of man after perfection.—Miss Busk, p. 332.

who made all living things from its twigs and bark.[1]

Sometimes the method of reaching the not very distant sky-land is more or less magical. The Australians have a story of two girls who escaped from their persecutor, Beereeun, and, helped by their dead relatives, became stars. Beereeun thereupon took a spear and threw it up to the sky, where it hung dangling down. Another spear caught on to it, until, by throwing several, he had made a rope of spears, up which (like the Melanesian hero with his arrows) he climbed to the sky, where he is still pursuing the star-maidens. Since then his tribe have been good climbers. Compare with this the Tchippewaya story of the giant who gave two brothers two arrows, forbidding them to run and take them up after shooting them, lest evil should befall. The younger did so, when the arrow mounted higher and higher till it carried him to the land above the sky, whence, after some strange adventures with two girls, "of manners none and customs nasty," their mother lowered him to earth by a rope.[2]

Sometimes the intercourse between the land above the sky and this earth is referred to a distant past, and since the connection has been destroyed no one has ever been able to reach that land. This has already been suggested in some of our folk-tales; usually it is part of a myth explaining the origin of man, who, as is sometimes thought, came, though not always, *trailing clouds of glory*, from that glad upper world. According to some of these myths, the

[1] Turner, p. 199. Brinton, *American Hero Myths*, p. 75. Keane, *op. cit.*, p. 160. Brett, p. 7.

[2] Parker, 2nd ser., p. 11. Petitot, p. 352. In the Australian story cited on p. 340, the girls set to cut the tabued trees are carried with the trees to the sky. *Cf.* an Algonquin story where two girls who have become the wives of stars, descend to earth on a hemlock-tree through a squirrel's magic.—Leland, *A.L.*, p. 142; and *cf.* p. 344.

descent is made by means of a tree, though other methods occur, as in the myth of the Finnish Voguls, who say that the first pair descended in a cradle of silver wire, while their son became a squirrel, climbed a tree to the sky and came down again. So in an Eskimo myth the man and woman by whom the earth was peopled fell from heaven.[1] But the most elaborate myths of this kind are found among the Caribs and the Indians of Guiana. The Caribs say that men used to live above the sky, and descended to cleanse the earth. While so engaged, the clouds on which they came receded and they had to remain below. However, the creator made a huge tree, which was covered with all kinds of food. This was cut down, and each man took slips from it and planted them for his own use. Another tree reached from earth to heaven, and during a great flood people climbed it, headed by a woman, who stuck half-way and was turned to stone, while all who tried to pass her were also petrified. The survivors took refuge on Mount Komoo, and were saved from drowning.[2]

These two myths seem to be combined in one current among the Korobahana, who say men came from the sky by means of a rope, which broke by the weight of a heavy woman, thus for ever cutting off communication between those who were below and those left above. The latter were given wings, and flew down to earth, where they live among the trees as parrots. In the Guarani myth, men lived above the sky, till one day a hunter, pursuing a bird, saw it disappear into a pit. He looked down and beheld, far below, forests, rivers, animals, and birds. Having told his fellows of this, they made a rope-ladder, down

[1] Nansen, *Eskimo Life*, p. 259.

[2] Brett, pp. 103, 107. The tree was at first known only to the tapir, who selfishly kept it to himself; then the rat insisted on a share; finally men discovered and claimed it.

which he descended and captured a deer. Returning with great difficulty, he shared the unwonted luxury with the others, who resolved to visit the earth. The descent was safely made, but the last woman stuck in the hole, where she remains to this day, making all return to the sky impossible. The Mara people of the Gulf coast of Australia believe that once a great pine-tree reached from heaven to earth, and by its means their ancestors used to climb up and down between the two regions. But Kakan, the hawk, discovered the secret of fire-making, and, while disputing with another hawk, set fire to the earth. The tree was destroyed, and the people who had climbed to the sky were forced to remain there. Crystals were implanted in their bodies, and the flashing of these by night causes the light of stars. Some medicine-men have still the power of ascending to the skies to speak to the star-people.[1]

Of these myths, some relate how men first came "trailing clouds of glory" to earth from the skies. Conversely, among myths which tell how men reached the surface of the earth from below, it is sometimes said that the ascent was made by means of a tree. The Tusayans of North America think that all men once lived in the lowest depths of the earth, suffering misery. Through the intervention of Myuingwa, the god of the interior, and Baholikinga, a huge serpent, genius of the water, they obtained a seed from which sprang a magic growth of cane. It penetrated through a crevice in the roof, and by its means men reached a higher plane of the earth's interior. Here a dim light prevailed, and vegetation was produced. By another magic seed they climbed to the next stage, where the light was strong, and the animals came into being. Lastly, the ascent to the surface was made by

[1] Brett, pp. 55, 179. Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes*, p. 628.

similar magic growths (in other versions of the myth, by a pine-tree, or by a rush), and the people were headed by two mythic twins, who sang as the people came up. When their song was ended no others were allowed to ascend, and they still remain below. But through the outlet still come the germs of all living things. In another Red Indian myth, the ascent to the surface of the earth was made by means of a tree, which broke when the inevitable fat man was climbing it, causing many still below to remain there.[1] The magic seed in the Tusayan myth is the closest parallel to Jack's bean we have met with.

The destruction of the means of ascent or descent occurs with great persistence in these tales and myths; it was clearly suggested by the evident impossibility of man's now reaching the sky, while it was easy to imagine that it was caused by some unlucky or unwieldy individual. But the region which was thus left usually becomes the paradise to which men hope to go after death, as in the second Red Indian myth.

Sometimes the upper region, as in the European variants of Jack and the Beanstalk, as well as in the Dyak, Australian, Samoan, Maori, Malay, Arawak, and other myths, is the abode of supernatural beings or of the gods. Sometimes they welcome the visitor, and send him back with gifts; in other cases he is clearly an intruder, stealing their possessions, or where he remains among them he must become as they, and share their divine nature. When this occurs, the myth has been influenced by the widely-spread belief that the gods are jealous lest men enter their abode, and share their immortality or their possessions—jealous, even, of men's prosperity. We find this

[1] Bureau of Ethnology, *Report*, 1886-87, p. 16. The outlet is still symbolised in the construction of the Tusayan Kiva, in the designs on sand altars, and by the unconnected circle painted on pottery, etc. For the other myth, see Knortz, *Aus dem Wigwam*, p. 130.

among the Babylonians, Egyptians, Greeks, Hindus, Dyaks, and Negroes. The Egyptian myth has points of contact with those already studied: the gods had formerly lived with men on earth, but being angry with them, had withdrawn to the sky. Still closer is the Negro belief that gods and men had constant intercourse by means of a ladder reaching to the sky, which the gods ultimately threw down.[1]

We have traced the popular story of Jack and the Beanstalk to man's early myth-making fancy, his guesses at the origin of things, as to the region beyond the sky and the method of reaching it. We have found a folk-tale of "Aryan" peoples current among very un-Aryan races, and connected with myths from all parts of the world. But we have nowhere seen any reason to suppose, with De Gubernatis, that Jack and his beanstalk are really the moon in another guise, because the moon, like them, mounts the heavens and descends to earth again.[2] Here, indeed, is a moon-struck fancy of a mythologist.

On the whole, Jack and the Beanstalk with its many versions is an excellent example of how a myth or a saga may become a folk-tale. Or, perhaps, it would be better to say that out of more or less amorphous stories told to account for the nature of things, both myths and folk-tales have been evolved.

[1] *Cf.* Jastrow, *Rel. of Babylonians*, p. 544 *seq.*; Maspero, xlix.; *Odyssey*, iv. 181, xxiii. 207 (in Greek opinion excess of prosperity was evil, as it awakened the jealousy of the gods); St John, i. 171; Lyell, *Asiatic Studies*, 2nd ser., p. 246. See also the Maori instance on p. 63 *supra*.

[2] *Mitologica Vedica*, p. 96. It should be noticed that man's preconceptions of the universe often affect his dreams. So Jacob saw in his dream a ladder reaching from earth to heaven, and St Perpetua, the North African martyr of the third century, had a vision of a narrow golden ladder connecting earth and sky, and guarded by weapons and a fierce dragon. She safely mounted it, and reached a beautiful world above the clouds.—Migne *Patrol. Eccl. Lat.*, iii. 38.

No "disease of language" is necessary to account for the existence of such tales, the near relations of myths; they were evolved by a natural process, and all alike are due to man's healthy imagination, not to the pathology of philological processes!

CHAPTER XVII

THE ORIGIN AND TRANSMISSION OF FOLK-TALES

FOLK-TALES, apart from stories known as Drolls, Beast-Fables, etc., may be classed as Sagas and *Märchen*. In the saga, incidents are related of supernatural personages, of heroes and heroines, who have definite names and are believed to have once actually existed, while they are also attached to definite places. The saga thus is to a large extent equivalent to the myth. In the *Märchen* all is vague, impersonal, indefinite; for, as M. Dozon says, "the absence of names is one of the characteristics of true popular tales." Most countries have both kinds of folk-tale; among savages tales are mainly of the saga order, though the stories of such races as the Kafirs and Ainos, as well as some North American tales, are *Märchen* pure and simple; while what is told as a saga in one country occurs as a *Märchen* in another place. Possibly *Märchen* are the deteriorated form of sagas; on the other hand, a saga may merely be a *Märchen* to the personages of which definite names have been given. Hence, we can hardly affirm yet which is the earlier of the two; nor is there any good reason for supposing that both forms of the folk-tale may not have been invented separately. But, judging by most collections of savage folk-tales, the earliest stories must have had more or less of the saga form, more especially if we consider saga and

myth to be closely related. We have seen how many European folk-tale incidents exist as separate stories among savages, but told of this or the other traditional personage. These are sagas or myths. They may, however, be told occasionally of no one in particular; then they are savage *Märchen*. Moreover, where a more or less elaborate story told by savages can be proved to have reached them by diffusion or borrowing, almost invariably the actors in it have become the well-known heroes or divinities of the tribe. In other words, a story told in Europe as a *Märchen* becomes a saga when it is adopted by savages.

Thus in their origin folk-tales may have had some other purpose than mere amusement; they may have embodied the traditions, histories, beliefs, ideas, and customs of men at an early stage of civilisation. It was only later that they became mere stories told to amuse, or delight, or terrify an entranced audience. Even savage tales of the *Märchen* type, or tales which are variants of existing European stories, frequently have a mythical ending. All that has been related turns out to be the mythic explanation of certain natural phenomena, or of various animal peculiarities —markings, shape, etc., and the story concludes by saying, "and that is why such and such an animal has red feathers," or "why two animals always fight when they meet," etc. Examples of this have already been noted in citing savage folk-tales. Even in collections of European tales instances of this are not unknown. Thus in a Russian story the fox and the hare go to get the Water of Life, which, as usual, lies between mountains which for ever swing apart and then clash together. The fox gets off safely, but the hare is too late to clear the clashing rocks, and her tail is jammed between them. Hence, hares have now no tails.[1]

[1] Ralston, p. 236. *Cf.* a Servian story explaining why the sole of the foot is uneven.—Naake, p. 6.

In this sense, as indeed we have seen already in discussing Jack and the Beanstalk, folk-tales have a vital connection with myth and saga, though the connection is far from that insisted on by Max Müller and the mythological school. Still another link of connection may be perceived in many European *Märchen*, where the gods and mythic figures of an earlier faith have been metamorphosed into ogres, witches, and fairies, and where the dimly-remembered customs of that earlier religion have supplied incidents for the story inventor of a later age.

As we have seen, all folk-tale incidents are directly connected with man's early ideas, beliefs, and customs. These gave rise to short narratives which we might call story germs. Most of those became more elaborate sagas or myths; but some may have taken the form of genuine *Märchen* even thus early. Sometimes a myth or saga may have retained its form, sometimes it may have been transmuted, as we have shown, into a *Märchen*. And, again, where a mythological or epic cycle, or even a sacred book, was being elaborated, floating *Märchen*, native or borrowed, were occasionally incorporated, divinities or well-known heroes becoming the *dramatis personæ*.

Our study of folk-tales and the theory advanced as to the origin of folk-tale incidents, help to throw some light on the problem of their diffusion. The various solutions of that problem with which the theory of the mythological school has been met err in narrowing the locality of the centre of diffusion, *i.e.*, the East, or less vaguely, India. Benfey, in his famous Introduction to the *Panchatantra*, held that tales reached the South of Europe *via* the Turks, and arrived in the North *via* the Mongols, who passed them on to the Slavs, from whom the Germanic peoples received them. All this happened within historic times, and the stories themselves had a Buddhist origin. But

while it is true that Eastern literary collections of tales, or individual legends like that of Barlaam and Josaphat, may be traced step by step from India to Europe, it is not necessarily true that all European tales which resemble them were derived from those literary stories. Such tales had been told in Europe before they arrived in a literary form from the East, just as they existed orally in India before a literary form was given them. Later investigators, like Cosquin, widened the Indian theory by admitting the existence of tales in India in pre-Buddhistic times, and by postulating a continuous oral transmission to Europe from early ages. But the Indian parallels to European tales in M. Cosquin's collection and elsewhere are both few and incomplete, nor can we be satisfied, from their form, that they were the source of our European variants. Cosquin's admirable volumes seldom show, as they ought to do if his theory is correct, a *complete* Indian version of each of his Lorraine tales of which he cites so many variants from all countries. There are only six complete Indian parallels in his first volume; others have only a partial likeness; of many there is no Indian variant. Indeed, his work might be used to prove that stories reached India from some European country — say Lorraine! Nor, as the theory demands, are the incidents of these tales such as would exclusively belong to Indian soil. Transformation, *e.g.*, is said to be borrowed from the Indian belief in transmigration. But, as we have seen, every people under heaven believe or have believed that shape-shifting is possible. Nor are helpful animals or beast-marriages exclusively Indian conceptions, unless indeed Ainos and Australians, Negroes and Polynesians, have all borrowed them from India! These and all such incidents are the common property of the human race, and this alone is sufficient to invalidate the Indian hypothesis. On the other hand it is suggested that,

while the incidents may be universal, the use of them for folk-tale purposes, in other words the formation of the folk-tales themselves with their elaborate plot and numerous details, is Indian. But, as I have said, Indian parallels to existing European tales are few and incomplete, while Mr Hartland points out that the Indian version of any given tale is seldom the most artistic. Again, even M. Cosquin finds a difficulty, by the discovery of folk-tales in ancient Egypt (*e.g.*, The Two Brothers), with Eastern and Western parallels, and is driven to suggest that Hindu tales were borrowed from non-Aryan peoples, and then transmitted westwards. Yet, if Egyptians and other non-Aryan races had tales at such an early date, there is nothing to hinder us from supposing that stories existed in Europe and India simultaneously, or that even if stories filtered westwards they also went eastwards as well. In fact, we are more and more driven to the conclusion that *there never has been any one centre for story invention, but that there were many centres*, and that diffusion by borrowing or transmission has gone on steadily from prehistoric times. This does not, however, exclude the possibility that stories with similar incidents, even similar sequence of incidents, may not have been invented independently in different quarters.[1]

The various story cycles which we have examined have revealed two facts, (1) that the *incidents* of these tales are exceedingly primitive, and (2) that, though only in a few cases can exact savage variants of elaborately detailed cycles be produced, most of the details of these stories can be paralleled in abundance

[1] Another Eastern theory is that of Dr Gaster, who derives folk-tales from the old Slavonic religious literature, which, in turn, was based upon Eastern origins. This theory, ingenious as it is, and postulating the non-existence of tales in Europe before the tenth century, is open to the same objections as the others. *Cf.* his *Ilchester Lectures on Greco-Slavonic Literature.*

from separate short tales existing among savages. Elaborate stories, with a wealth of detail and incident and a comparatively complicated plot, are not wanting in any savage collection of tales, as Theal's, or Cushing's, or Grinnell's, or Romilly's books will show, for Kafirs, Zunis, Pawnees, and the people of New Guinea. But on the whole the conclusion to which we are driven after a wide survey of tales is that the incidents of folk-tales, those of helpful animals, transformation, beast-marriage, sacrifice, etc., were once separate stories, and represent the earliest form of the folk-tale. The foregoing chapters have supplied abundant illustrations of this. But as these incidents are based on world-wide belief and custom, we may suppose that they, as stories, were invented separately, and were not necessarily borrowed by one people from another, or diffused from a common centre. For example, if all men believe that shape-shifting is possible, there is no reason to suppose that the most widely separated peoples could not invent little stories about shape-shifting, without help from each other. Again, to the similarity of man's myth-making fancy in all ages and places may be attributed the remarkable likeness which prevails in savage "Swallow" and "Jack and the Beanstalk" stories from the most widely-separated regions of the globe. Simple tales were evolved everywhere much in the same way. This is also true of all beliefs and customs which have a universal existence. But confining ourselves to shape-shifting we find that the particular form of the idea which is contained in the werwolf superstition, viz., that a man or woman may take animal form and, if wounded in that form, will be found, on resumption of the human shape, to have a wound on the limb corresponding to that which was hurt, can be traced in such widely-separated regions as to preclude the possibility of borrowing or transmission. It is found all over Europe, among the Malays,

among the Indians of South America, in Melanesia, and elsewhere, and thus forms an excellent example of a universal belief being worked up into a superstition or story bearing a common likeness in different regions, the only difference being that due to local colouring (in Europe the creature is a wolf or bear, in Malaysia a tiger, in South America a jaguar).[1] So it is quite conceivable that a spider's web may have more than once suggested the idea of weaving a net. At all events we find in West Africa a folk-tale, and in North America an Algonquin saga, telling how the hero in each case learned the art of making hunting and fishing nets from a spider and her web.[2] Here it is safe to say the stories have been invented quite independently. It is, in fact, inevitable that man's psychic life being everywhere one and the same, similar conditions, social, geographical, etc., will inevitably produce similar ideas, beliefs, and stories. For the same reason archæologists infer that the stone weapons of a primitive culture found in all parts of the world, like as they are to each other, may quite well have been invented independently by different peoples. For precisely the same reason the development and details of culture have everywhere been carried out on the same lines, while man's ideas about sacrifice, ancestor or nature worship, magic, and the like, have everywhere a common likeness. Diffusion of ideas, copying, borrowing, doubtless went on, but

[1] *Cf.* Keane, *Man: Past and Present*, pp. 239, 380. In Melanesia the story is told of a "talamaur," the soul of a person which leaves the body to eat a corpse. A woman said she would send her soul to eat a certain dead man. Strict watch was kept in the darkness; a rustling was heard near the corpse; the watchers threw a stone and hit something. Next day the woman was found to have a bruise on her arm caused by the stone which hit her soul. Codrington, p. 222.

[2] For the African tale, see Miss Kingsley's *Travels in West Africa;* the American story is in Brinton, *American Hero Myths*, p. 40.

only to an infinitesimal extent as compared with the production of similar results out of a common groundwork of psychic life, surroundings, and needs. To this point we shall return later. Of course, it is open to anyone to argue that the generalised Pleistocene precursors of the great divisions of the human race, before setting out on their migrations, had evolved story-germs, ideas, beliefs, customs, and carried these with them to the ends of the earth. Hence the amazing likeness of such things from the most widely separated regions. This is *omne ignotum pro mirifico* with a vengeance, and until we know more of the mental equipment of Pleistocene man, the reasoning is ineffective.

The earliest folk-tales were thus short, probably confined to one or two incidents, and everywhere presented the same characteristics.[1] So far the problem is simple; it becomes more complicated as the stories become more elaborate, and yet present variants and parallels from the farthest removed quarters. As time went on, and man's inventive and imaginative faculties developed, these simple stories, from being complete in themselves, became incidents in longer tales. New episodes were invented; the growth of custom and belief would furnish ever new material; while existing stories would lend themselves to new combinations in kaleidoscopic fashion. Again, there is no reason to doubt that this process went on everywhere on similar lines, or that the same combination of incidents, the same elaboration of the tale, occurred in more places than one.

Let us here glance at our savage parallels to European stories. The profusion of savage parallels to the *incidents* of elaborate "civilised story cycles has already been referred to, and independent inven-

[1] *Cf.* the exact similarity of savage beast-marriage and cannibalistic tales everywhere.

tion claimed for them. But there are a certain number of elaborate savage parallels to the European cycles themselves, which may be arranged into two groups. In the first of these we have incomplete parallels, approaching the European versions. Taking these in order, we note, *e.g.*, the Fjort and Basuto variants of the Impostor cycle; the Basuto, Negro, Hottentot, Eskimo, and Guiana versions of the girl who tidies up a man's house secretly, and, being discovered, becomes his bride; Eskimo and Red Indian tales of transformation by eating; Malagasy and Kafir stories of inanimate objects personating a fugitive; the Uganda, Fjort, Menomini Indian, Zuni, and Melanesian Puss in Boots tales; the Pawnee story of the sorry nag which proves to be a magic horse; the Red Indian Cyclops story and numerous other tales of cannibalistic monsters; Samoan and Eskimo parallels to European stories of cannibalism as a perverted taste; Malagasy, Basuto, Melanesian, and Negro tabu stories, in which a husband loses his wife; the Melanesian story of the dead father helping his despised son, as in European Cinderella tales. The parallelism is seldom complete over the whole story, but it is close enough. How are we to explain this? Are these merely inchoate stories, evolved from simple incidental tales, which might themselves in time become *complete* parallels without outside influence? In other words, have they sprung up, like the Red Indian story of Stone-shirt,[1] without suggestion from already formed story cycles (*e.g.*, European); or, on the other hand, has that suggestion been at work; or, finally, has there been direct borrowing, with subsequent loss of some incidents and distortion of others? All theories will fit the case, and while some of the stories suggest one theory, others as evidently adapt themselves to another. We know that diffusion of tales has been possible over a

[1] See p. 23 and note 1.

large area and during a long period of time; but, again, the uniform workings of the human mind in similar conditions by no means forbid our supposing that out of similar independent story germs everywhere existing, the same or nearly the same more or less detailed narratives might have been formed.

In the second group the parallelism to elaborate tales is much more complete. Thus the savage parallels of the Magic Mirror, of the Dead Mother, of the Life Token (the Fjort version of the Dragon cycle), of the Transformation Flight (the Samoan tale of Siati), of the cumulative tales where inanimate objects talk (Hottentot, Berber), of the Friendly Animals in the Aladdin cycle (Aino, Korean), of the Magic Napkin and Cudgel (Kafir, Ashanti), of the Youngest Son (Malagasy, Zuni), of the contrasted Kind and Unkind, of Beauty and the Beast (Kafir, Zuni, Guiana), of the child slain by her mother and eaten by her father (Malagasy), of the Dragon Sacrifice (Kabyle, Senegambian), seem to point to undoubted borrowing and diffusion. The Basuto versions of the Cap o' Rushes, of the Boy with the Moon on his Breast, of Beauty and the Beast, of the Dismembered Restored, and of the Cannibal Outwitted cycles, may also be referred to. They have a curious parallelism to European tales, with individual differences of detail. Here, too, we may mention the case of Indian, Swahili, and Japanese versions of the Separable Soul story, in which a monkey's heart is involved, without European parallels, so far as I know, as well as the Aino, Japanese, Chinese, and Eskimo fox stories, as showing that borrowing may go on among races at a low level without the story ever reaching the higher races and becoming one of their folk-tales. Yet, even of this second group we cannot *absolutely* bar occasional separate invention of similar incidents

in a similar sequence.[1] We can only say, it is unlikely.

Or, let us take the stories of a single tribe, *e.g.*, those of the Menomini Indians of the Algonquin stock. Some of these are myths, and in this group we have those which are recited at the initiation of candidates to the Mitawit by the shamans, as well as others which are not now recited but are believed to have formed part of the sacred ritual long ago. All alike form part of a mythological cycle dealing with the life of the hero-divinity, Manabush. Others are folk-tales "recited by the old Indians during the long winter evenings." In both groups are tales which are clearly authentic, as well as tales of which, because of their likeness, greater or less, to European *Märchen*, it is impossible to assert anything with certainty. Yet, in accordance with our theory of similar incidents everywhere arising from similar ideas due to a common psychic life, some of these tales, in spite of a general parallelism to European stories, may quite well have been invented without outside influence. A few of the Menomini stories have been cited throughout this volume, *e.g.*, those of the Bear Chief and the Three Brothers, of the Wolf and the Hunter (a Puss in Boots tale), and of the further adventures of the third brother with the bears (Transformation Flight).[2] These tales may quite well have arisen independently from ideas current among the Indians, who believe firmly in animals having a chief, and in the survival of their spirits, in help given by animals to men, and in transformation and magic. On the other hand, this people has for long been in contact

[1] The similar sequence of incidents is to me the crux of the matter. A single incident, like that of the Celtic and Melanesian stories of how a loch or the sea was formed, can be invented twice or oftener, as this particular case shows.

[2] *Cf.* pp. 175, 230, 380. This large group of myths and *Märchen* will be found in the *14th Annual Report* of the Bureau of Ethnology, p. 161 *seq.*

with Europeans, and we have Mr Leland's suggestion that some Algonquin tales are derived from the old Norse settlers. Thus it is possible that their stories may have been influenced by suggestions derived from European tales. But even this theory is not necessary to account for the parallelism, and the stories are now so coloured by Indian ideas that it would be difficult to prove it.

Borrowing is more clearly indicated in the long tale of Nanni Naioqta, or Ball-carrier, part of which has already been cited.[1] As the story now stands, it bears every apparent mark of originality. It tells the adventures of a boy who was enticed from home by a witch, and only returned to his parents after a long series of adventures. But in spite of the Indian colouring, and the introduction of Indian beliefs and customs, a closer analysis of the story suggests that several native incidental tales and the incidents of various European *Märchen* have been worked up into a long tale. The places of junction have now and then been left obvious, though the *ex hypothesi* borrowed incidents have frequently been modified to exhibit Indian beliefs. The incidents of the story may be tabulated as follows :—

1. The boy enticed from home by the witch's ball.	Possibly European.[2] Stories of witches occur, however, in native folk-lore.
2. Treatment of the boy by the witch.	This is doubtless original—the boy receiving help from the Manidos for the task she is to set him.
3. Adventure with the cannibal ogre, and flight with his magic ladder and gold.	*Cf.* Jack and the Beanstalk, Mally Whuppie, etc.
4. Marriage of the hero to a woman carved out of a block of wood.	Original.

[1] See p. 286.

[2] In the Greek myth, Dionysus is lured away to his ruin with a ball, top, mirror, and other articles, by the Titans.

5. Marriage to a woman whose sister is a cannibal, and who is killed by the hero. Birds and beasts assist him by their silence.	Original.
6. Adventure with a giant, and rescue of a chief's daughter, the giant's victim. The hero draws the giant up to the window of his cliff-dwelling and cuts off his head; then resuscitates his former victims.	General resemblance to Jack the Giant Killer incidents.
7. Duplicate of Incident 5, but here the cannibal sister races with the hero, who wins the race by transforming himself into a succession of swiftly-flying birds, and then kills her.	Original.
8. Fight with a water-monster whose venom causes Ball-carrier's death.	Possibly European. *Cf.* the Dragon Combat series.
9. Ball-carrier is buried on a scaffold among a grove of trees. His ghost takes the form of a bird, and causes a miraculous supply of food for his wife and children.	This embodies native custom and belief, but *cf.* European Cinderella tales of the Dead Mother as an animal.
10. Marriage of Ball-carrier's daughter to a chief, who, discovering the miraculous food supply, demands that the bird be killed to cure him of a pretended illness.	*Cf.* European tales of the jealous second wife or stepmother, who causes the death of the transformed wife or children.
11. Ball-carrier's sons, in anger at the chief, eat the head and heart of the bird, flee from home, but wherever they sleep find gold lying in the morning, because they have eaten the bird. Chagrin of the chief.	This is a common incident in *Märchen*, and is doubtless borrowed, but has received original treatment, viz., the bird is the boys' father's ghost.
12. Meanwhile the Ball attached to the hero's foot has returned to the witch on his death. She sets out to seek him, finds his body, and restores him to life. Then she takes the giant's gold and magic ladder from under his armpits, where they had been hidden all along, and buries them, in order that men may find gold through hard work, and may learn to build bridges. Then she sends Ball-carrier home to his parents.	*Cf.* the Life-token incident. As usual, the tale ends with a mythic explanation of why gold is found in the earth.

If we are right in assigning certain incidents of this tale to borrowing—the third and eleventh are almost certainly borrowed—it affords an excellent example of the manner in which these are coloured to suit native beliefs, adapted to other existing native incidents, and the whole woven into a complex tale.[1] Where elaborate myths or tales already existed, as with this tribe, the process of assimilating borrowed incidents would be comparatively easy. But even this tale shows that certain incidents may only bear a general and accidental likeness to those of European *Märchen, e.g.*, the ninth, and need not have been borrowed, while the complete tale, as it stands, might quite easily have been diffused in time over a wide area, and have given rise to many variants. We shall now pass on to consider how diffusion occurred.

Wherever there was communication between race and race, whether by migration, war and consequent capture of prisoners and slavery, trade, or marriage, the stories of one race were bound to be communicated to other races. The more striking of these would be adopted, and thus each people would acquire a certain number of new stories, their own having in the meanwhile been handed on elsewhere. Thus these more elaborate tales travelled far and wide, were adopted everywhere, and became common property—each people, however, giving them in time local colouring. The process must have gone on for long ages; many fresh tales would be invented, and they too would be disseminated over a wide region. In the process many stories must have been lost; others again were forgotten, and perished. Only the fittest to survive, viz., those which were most popular because of their appeal to the universal elements of human life, or on account of their more striking imaginative qualities, would survive. But sometimes a story, popular with this or the other race, may have

[1] The tale occupies fourteen quarto pages of the *Report*.

failed to catch the mind of other peoples. In some such way as this we may account for the existence of story cycles and their variants. A very popular story will have variants elsewhere; a less popular tale will occur only here and there; many more may have an exceedingly circumscribed *locale.*

To put the case in graphic form, suppose there are six races, A, B, C, D, E, F, each of which invents ten more or less elaborate tales. Three of A's ten are disseminated, and reach B, C, D, E, F. They thus become the common property of all alike. Two more of A's are accepted by D and F, but B, C, and E reject them, though they may in turn borrow another of A's ten which does not appeal to D or F. The remaining four of A's stories may never leave A, or, if they do, are speedily forgotten elsewhere, and thus remain peculiar to A. At the same time any of these five races may be already in possession of a story of A's, or one closely resembling it, by reason of that unity of man's psychic life already referred to. We will then have three story cycles with variants among six races; two cycles with three variants; one cycle with four variants, and four stories which have no variants outside A. In course of time any of these variants may be dropped by any given race, say, C or E, and then the later twentieth-century collector will look in vain for them in these regions. The same process of dissemination or rejection will be going on *pari passu* with B, C, D, E, and F's groups of ten. In this way stories become common property, receive local colouring, and in time lose all trace of their originating centre. On this theory we are not bound to admit that all story cycles had one and only one centre of origin. I see no reason against the supposition that, say, A invented Cinderella, B Bluebeard, C Puss in Boots, D Beauty and the Beast, and so on. When first invented, each of these stories may have borne clear trace of its birthplace, but the changes of time

and local colouring due to dissemination make it impossible now to discover it. Backward and isolated races would, of course, have few opportunities of hearing the stories of other races, while they would not advance much beyond the simpler tales once common to every race. As Mr Lang says, "Where there is no distinction of wealth and rank, there are no Cinderella and Puss in Boots tales."[1]

Another aspect of the problem now presents itself. Not only does a story with, say six incidents, occur in several countries, but it also presents itself in some of these and in other countries lacking certain incidents, or with others added, borrowed occasionally from a quite different story cycle. There is hardly any story cycle of which this may not be predicated, and we have had many examples of it in the course of this book. The central incidents are frequently the most unvarying; the introductory and final incidents differ more. The truth is, that once a popular story was invented containing several incidents it would be liable to constant modification, and each of these modified and altered forms might be as popular as the first, and might conceivably oust it or each other here and there. There would thus arise two or three types of a story cycle, with several variants, and also with *lacunæ* in the variants in this or the other country. If any given incident in a story cycle struck the imagination, it would have a larger chance of being introduced into other cycles already complete in themselves. To take an example. Let us say that the central incident of a cycle is the search for the Water of Life. In this story cycle the other incidents grouped round it are these—a king with three sons who go to seek the water for him; the youngest discovers it, is maltreated by the others, who pretend they have discovered it, and get the credit, to be at last punished for their crime. Now, supposing

[1] Introduction to Mrs Parker's *Australian Legendary Tales*, xv.

another cycle already existing with the incident of a child promised to a monster, followed by his subsequent adventures; another telling how a hero escaped with an ogre's daughter who had helped him in performing certain tasks; another relating how a hero forgot his bride and was about to marry another, when the rightful bride appeared and claimed him. Each of these cycles might supply incidents which would modify the first cycle while preserving its central incident—that of the quest. Thus we might have the promised child, and his escape from the monster. He wanders on, and reaches a city where a king is offering a large reward for the Water of Life, say, his daughter's hand. Off he goes to seek it in the kingdom of the ogre who possesses it. The ogre sets him several tasks before he will yield it up; the hero is helped by the ogre's lovely daughter, with whom he straightway falls in love. She brings him the Water of Life, and flees with him. He leaves her outside the king's city, but as soon as he gives the king the Water of Life, and is presented with the princess as his reward, he forgets his true love, who, however, opportunely appears and claims him, possibly saving him from a shrewish wife. This instance, not altogether imaginary, shows how a new type of any given cycle might be formed by discreet borrowing from other cycles. The process is the inevitable result of any given cycle having been built up out of separate incidents which were once stories in themselves.

The number of incidents in folk-tales is not so great as the vast numbers of the tales themselves might lead us to suppose. Most novels deal with the way of a man with a maid, but how varied are the forms of this theme! So the incidents of folk-tales occur over and over again, but often in a different setting. Thus the incident of blindness being cured by the Water of Life occurs in two cycles—Truth and Falsehood and the Abandoned Wife. The

rescue of the maiden from a dragon is attached to the incident of a miraculously-born hero, or to that of the Bear's Son, while it sometimes occurs with, sometimes without, the later incident of the hero's death and restoration. The tabu against opening a certain door occurs as the central episode of at least four cycles—Bluebeard, stories of the type of the Russian Koshchei the Deathless, of the King and the Wild Man, and of the Traitorous Sister or Wife. Or take the Cinderella group, and we have Miss Cox's verdict that its incidents "are interchangeable with a large proportion of the incidents of the 'Catskin' and 'Cap o' Rushes' stories."[1] Again, the loss of his possessions by a reckless man, careless of the promise he has made, occurs both in Puss in Boots and Cupid and Psyche tales from Africa. The cycles we have examined afford many other examples, and prove the truth of M. Dozon's words. "Sometimes several tales are made out of a single tale, sometimes several are united in one. What was an introductory becomes a final incident, or the chief *motif* becomes a secondary detail, and *vice versa*. Ce sont des veritables Chimères!"[2] Thus, in reading any folk-tale one begins to have the feeling of dreaming, with its bizarre association of ideas. A single incident recalls many others which have been encountered in connection with it elsewhere, and the mind, in spite of itself, is being perpetually switched on to new tracks, and can scarce preserve the clue.

But whenever a new type of any given cycle was formed by a fresh combination of incidents, that new type would also be disseminated far and wide, and take its place along with the first type wherever that was to be found. And by new combinations fresh types would be evolved, with variants in as many countries as they reached. Some of these variants

[1] *Cinderella*, xxv. [2] *Contes Albanais*, xvi.

would be lost in course of time, and thus again we will have *lacunæ* in the variants as before.

That stories have been disseminated in this way by transmission, diffusion, or borrowing, may be illustrated by actual proof. Many of the existing Swahili tales are directly borrowed from Arab and Indian peoples with whom the Bantu people of that region have been for long in contact.[1] The same is true of the people of Uganda, as Sir Harry Johnston has pointed out.[2] Many Red Indian tales, strangely disguised though they be, may yet be traced to the Norse settlements in the past—Lox, the wicked and tricky hero, being the equivalent in name and deeds of Loki in Scandinavian mythology, while others again have resulted from native contact with the French-Canadian population.[3] Spanish and Portuguese tales have also been acclimatised in Brazil. There is also some evidence of borrowing in long past ages between Ainos and Eskimo, as Rink has shown, and as is amply suggested by a study of their respective folk-tales.[4] Lönnrot asked a Finlander where he had obtained so many stories. He replied that he had been for years in the service of Russian and Norse fishermen on the coast of the Arctic Sea, and that when the storms were very bad they passed the time telling folk-tales to each other. Those which he heard he told on returning home, seizing the general sense, omitting what he did not understand, and adding bits from his own stock.[5] Here we see an example of the process of dissemination as it has doubtless gone on for long ages, while it also shows how variants, with their curious differences of detail

[1] Steere, *Swahili Tales*, Introduction.

[2] *Uganda Protectorate*, ii. 700.

[3] See Leland, *Algonquin Legends*, and Petitot *passim*.

[4] *American Anthropologist*, June and July, 1898.

[5] Cosquin, i. 34. *Cf.* Campbell, i. 59, on the method by which Celtic tales might be diffused in our own time by emigrants to the farthest corners of the world.

in spite of a general likeness, as well as different cycle types, may arise. Dr Nassau says that in West Africa there are tales common to all the tribes in that region, but that each tribe has also its own distinctive tales, and that it is "part of native courtesy to ask a visitor to contribute his local story to the amusement of the evening." In this way isolated tales will tend to become common property. Most of these stories are ancient and of native origin; some, however, may have been borrowed in remote times from Egypt as a result of ethnical movements. In one or two cases borrowing has been much more recent. We have seen this in the case of the story of the Magic Mirror; there is also a Negro version of Ali Baba, borrowed from Arab sources, or, as Dr Nassau suggests, itself a native tale with incidents of Ali Baba overheard from some white trader tacked on to it. Certainly the tale, while obviously due to the Arab story, has adapted itself to native manners and customs, and has become pure Negro.[1] Such an adaptation to local needs is once more illustrated by Mr Cushing. He told some Zunis the Italian cumulative story of the Cock and Mouse. A year after, a Zuni told it to him, and he found that it had been given a Zuni dress, elaborated and lengthened inordinately, and was full of racy dialogue. Characteristically, too, of a people in the mythopœic stage, the biting-off of the mouse's tale by the cock was now said to be the reason why field-mice have a short tail, while the wound on the cock's head explained its welt and proud flesh. There could be no better example of the local adaptation and local colouring of an existing

[1] Nassau, pp. 330-1. The Ali Baba story will be found on p. 358 of his volume. Among the Bantu peoples of South Africa many legends are "tinged with European ideas to such an extent that it is difficult to discover the original under the more recent crust." Thus they have seized upon the idea of Satan, and adapted him into local tales with extraordinary ingenuity. Rev. J. Macdonald in *Folk-Lore*, iii. 337.

folk-tale. The mythical explanatory addition has been already remarked on.[1]

When we have a story cycle with many incidents, some of them unique, the chances of explaining its occurrence in several lands by dissemination increase in proportion to the number of variants as well as the number of incidents, especially if these have everywhere the same sequence. On the other hand, if a story with several incidents is found, say, only in India and among the Algonquins, there would be strong presumptive evidence of its independent invention in both these places. And, as I have said, there is no reason why this should not have happened over and over again, granting, as we must, similarity of psychic life, social conditions, and environment. Examples of independent invention may be drawn from other fields in addition to those I have already cited. Both Negroes and South American Botocudoes disfigure their faces by a lip ornament. Here a widespread custom of disfigurement has expressed itself independently in the same way among peoples so far apart. The method of cooking a hedgehog, adopted by European gipsies, viz., by encasing the whole animal in clay and placing it in the fire, after which it is taken out and the clay, to which the skin adheres, is broken off, is precisely similar to the plan adopted by Australian black fellows in cooking birds and small animals.[2] So the carved wooden mortuary columns erected before Maori houses bear the strongest resemblance in design and form to the totem posts of the Indians of British Columbia, yet both have been arrived at independently.[3] Again, on fragments of ancient Mexican pottery a variety of the classic frette ornament has been noted, "which, if found on any European site, among fragments of

[1] Cushing, p. 410.

[2] R. H. Mathews, *J.A.I.*, xxv. 257.

[3] Keane, *Man: Past and Present*, p. 379.

Samian ware, would be unhesitatingly ascribed to a Roman origin"; while ancient Peruvians and Egyptians as well as the Chinese have alike fabricated a double bottle quite independently and with considerable likeness of form.[1] The curious custom of couvade, discovered in the most remote ages and places, may be due to diffusion, but it is much more likely that it has been the result of mental processes working out the problems of life in precisely the same way among different peoples. Its presence among American tribes who, when discovered, had had no intercourse with non-American races (among some of whom it is found, *e.g.*, the Basques) since Pleistocene times certainly proves this. Even such an instance as that of the scenes from the Japanese Buddhist purgatory and those from the Aztec hell as described in the Vatican codex, which are so similar, need not, as Dr Tylor supposes, be due to the presence of Asiatic culture in America.[2] As Mr Keane points out, the range of thought is limited to a river of death, mountains, and knives.[3] These occur in many religions as obstacles which the soul must pass through; they are the mere exaggerations of actual dangers existing everywhere; and their occurrence in two widely separated regions in the same sequence is no more than an accidental coincidence. But it once more suggests that similar conditions of life, similar environments, similar stages of culture, similar mental and psychic states, will

[1] Wilson, *Prehistoric Man*, ii. 97, 170. Marryat, *History of Pottery*, p. 398.

[2] The Buddhist scenes are—(1) the soul wading through a river of darkness; (2) passing through iron mountains; (3) climbing a mountain of knives; (4) being gashed by knives hurled through the air. The Aztec are—(1) passing through a river; (2) passing between two mountains which clash together; (3) climbing a mountain set with obsidian knives; (4) beset by these knives blown about by the winds. See Dr Tylor, in *Report* of Brit. Ass. Meeting at Oxford, 1894.

[3] *Ethnology*, p. 218.

almost inevitably work out mental, artistic, and mechanical products in precisely the same way. The occurrence of such a similar sequence, however, shows us that the separate incidents of folk-tale may have been actually combined in exactly the same way more than once, and in different regions, even if we cannot always lay our finger on what are cases in point.

On the whole, however, the existence of similar variants of elaborate story cycles in widely separated districts, especially where these contain, always in the same relative position to the other incidents, some one incident which can hardly have been twice invented, or if so, hardly placed twice independently in that relative position, is most easily explained as we have done it, by diffusion from different centres through long periods of time, probably from prehistoric ages onwards. Here, again, the possibility of dissemination may be illustrated from other fields. The presence of jade axes in prehistoric graves far removed from the districts where jade is found, proves how articles could be carried far and wide at an exceedingly remote period, and the same is true of Chinese ware found in old Egyptian tombs. The diffusion of the bronze culture all over Europe and Asia from the Ægean centre within a comparatively limited space of time, is another case in point. If traffic in material products was possible then, exchange of intellectual and imaginative products was equally possible, and one people could easily pass on a tale, a belief, a custom, to another. What we now know of the migration of peoples in long past ages, and their union in distant lands with those who had already become possessed of the soil, makes the process of diffusion certain. The presence of a Malay element in Madagascar shows how, in spite of a wide intervening ocean, Malaysian settlers travelled there in long past ages. So, too, the presence of a Caucasic element in the eastern limits of Asia and

in Polynesia from prehistoric times is now recognised, while it is equally certain that the cradle of the Caucasic race itself was North Africa. Thus peoples have spread to the ends of the earth in the dark backward of things, carrying customs, and ideas, and stories with them, while the later contact of races, in the manner already described, has also made diffusion and borrowing possible.

The diffusion of folk-tales might be illustrated by the diffusion of other products of man's psychic existence, which have easily passed over from one people to another. (1) Thus what is true of folk-tales is also true of proverbs and of magical charms. Among primitive peoples everywhere a proverb is an end of controversy, and the number of proverbs existing with any one people is enormous. Many of these are doubtless of independent invention; many more, though often coloured with the individuality of the people who use them, are so unique in form and, in spite of this, are found in so many regions, that they must have passed from mouth to mouth, and from country to country.[1] The peculiar form of many magical charms, their rhythm, their reiterated appeals, in all of which there is a close resemblance in different lands, show that they too have at some very early period been diffused all over the world, especially when this likeness occurs in the very words and phrases used. In the childhood of the race, magic had immense power over men's minds, and the very potency of a charm used by one people would cause it, when heard of, to be at once adopted by another. Certainly the close identity of Celtic, Etruscan, and ancient Babylonian magical spells cannot be wholly accidental.[2]

[1] See Farrer, *Primitive Manners*, p. 78.

[2] *Cf.* the Etruscan spells given by Leland, *E.R.R.*, and those in Lenormant's *Magie Chaldéene*, and the charms in Carmichael's *Carmina Gadelica* with both.

(2) Over a somewhat more restricted field, ballads or folk-songs present a close analogy to folk-tales. Not only are many of their incidents and themes identical in different European countries, not only does the likeness extend to phrases or whole verses, but variants of the same ballad frequently occur, *e.g.*, in Scotland, England, Scandinavia, Finland, Russia, Greece, and Spain. They are in verse what folk-tales are in prose. They have arisen in much the same way, indeed as we shall see, it is sometimes claimed that folk-tales have sprung from them. They have been borrowed by one people from another; diffused by wandering minstrels, by slaves or women; carried far and wide, everywhere taking a local colouring, and seldom revealing any trace of their birthplace. Their themes, too, are not infrequently those of the folk-tale — transformation, visits to fairyland, or, as in *The Twa Sisters*, murder is revealed by the harp-strings made from the victim's hair.

(3) Few things have more vitality than religious symbols, which, like the Christian Cross, convey a wealth of meaning to those who are in the secret. Their power to spread far and wide is also most marked, while wherever the conditions of religious belief are similar, their adaptability by various races is great. The fylfot or svastika, which is most easily explained now as a symbol of the solar disc, occurs over a wide area, but there is little doubt that it spread outwards from a common centre, and was everywhere adopted as a symbol of what was universally worshipped very much in the same way. In this case, however, unlike proverbs, ballads, charms, or folk-tales, it is almost possible to point to the centre of diffusion, viz., Troas and Mycenæ. Thence, it reached the east, and ultimately India, China, and Japan; thence, too, it was carried to Greece and Asia Minor, and to North Africa;

thence, lastly, to Etruria, Gaul, Scandinavia, and Germany.[1]

By analogy, then, we see how folk-tales may have been carried far and wide. But, again, the migration and consequent mingling of peoples from early times, the existence of what we may call "trade-routes" in the remote past, the carrying of slaves and prisoners of war to lands far removed from their homes, the frequent marrying of women of another stock according to the law of exogamy, the drifting of castaways to unknown shores[2]—all these have helped the diffusion of tales as well as those other products of man's psychic existence during the long ages in which he has existed on the earth. The presence of irrational incidents in folk-tales, the savage customs, so far removed from anything in the life of those who have told and listened to them for centuries, prove that the stories themselves, even the most elaborate, must have been invented long ago. This is not to say, of course, that incidents may not have become conventional and have been used as the material of fresh stories by comparatively recent inventors. Many stories are undoubtedly modern in this sense. But taking most story cycles, it is impossible not to feel that they are hoary with antiquity, that even the combination of incidents into an elaborate whole dates from the time when the incidents themselves were entirely credible to their auditors. Details have

[1] See Count Goblet d'Alviella, *The Migration of Symbols.*

[2] And, we may add, following Mr Hindes Groome's theory, the diffusion of tales by gipsies, many of whose stories are versions of European tales. See *Nat. Rev.*, July, 1886; *In Gypsy Tents*, p. 169. *Cf.* the number of tales Campbell collected from wandering tinkers. *Apropos* of this theory, it is interesting to note how the knowledge of metals may have been spread through neolithic Europe, from the centres where it had been discovered, by wandering tribes whom M. Bataillard connects with our gipsies, and who either had made the discovery themselves, or were the "commercial agents" of those who had done so. See Bertrand, *La Gaule avant les Gaulois*, pp. 226, 260, 313.

been added as time went on; details borrowed from increasing civilisation, like Cinderella's slipper or her fairy godmother, or references to our Lord and the saints, or to Christian ideas, or the making a soldier of Napoleon's army or a modern Irishman the hero of a story which is obviously of a far earlier date. These additions do not disprove the antiquity of our tales.

But is it possible that not only incidents but elaborate stories also could exist so long? To argue thus is to reveal ignorance of the tenacity with which men hold to tradition, of the extraordinary vitality of beliefs, customs, and the products of human imagination everywhere. The Vedic poems were orally handed down unchanged for thousands of years; Christian peasants in Europe go on practising pagan rites which ought to have died long ago, but did not. It is even possible that the art of Palæolithic man, his extraordinarily exact rendering of animal forms, which has generally been believed to have become extinct with the dawn of the Neolithic age, may have lingered on in some out-of-the-way corner, and sixty centuries after its supposed extinction may have been introduced by artists into Greece, where it originated, in the Minoan artists, the love of life and movement which we see in their animal representations.[1] Many similar examples might be adduced; we turn to the tales themselves, and we find that the variants of the Egyptian story of the Two Brothers (the literary version of a tale already old four thousand years ago), of Polyphemus, of Cupid and Psyche, of Danaë, and of a score of others, are still told among European peasants. Age can not wither nor custom stale their infinite variety. The works of man's hands decay and die with but a few exceptions—stone

[1] Salomon Reinach, *The Story of Art throughout the Ages*, p. 31. This is also the opinion of Professor Sergi, *The Mediterranean Race*, p. 273.

weapons, the Pyramids, pottery, coins. But the products of his intellect and imagination, of his soul and spirit—religion, poetry, folk-tale—*once they have struck root in the soil of humanity*—are practically immortal. They have been sprinkled with the Water of Life! These ancient folk-tales come to us out of a remote past, with their freshness and fairness undimmed, as does the light of the stars out of inconceivably remote space.[1]

Something may here be said regarding the style of folk-tales. A story which is found in twenty countries will inevitably, in its outward dress, bear some relation to the characteristics of each country. With a poetical people like the Celts it will be highly imaginative and beautiful; among the Slavs, superstitious to a degree, it will be full of the horrible and ghastly; among Italians or Frenchmen it will have an airy grace. Most Eastern tales spin out their incidents to an extreme length, and deal largely in gorgeous magnificence and vastness. Many savage or barbaric stories, like the Malagasy and Swahili tales, are interminably prolix; others, like the Aino

[1] The fact that tribal legends and myths are represented on certain sacred occasions by rude drawings or other primitive devices, *e.g.*, among the Australians, the Navajoes, etc.; that certain groupings of figures in Australian rock-drawings may represent some well-known legend; and that pictographic representations have so often served to embody primitive history, makes one wonder whether some of Palæolithic man's life-like drawings may not have depicted legends, myths, and folk-tales. It is tempting to think that, *e.g.*, the famous *Femme au Renne* of Laugerie-Basse may represent some story now lost for ever, perhaps a tale of beast-marriage! For some Australian instances, see R. H. Mathew's paper in *J.A.I.*, xxv. 146. Among several Red Indian tribes the chief outlines of the myths recited in the sacred ceremonies are recorded in picture-writing on birch-bark or wood for the use of the shamans (Bur. of Eth., *7th Report* (Ojibways); *14th Report* (Menominis); Tanner's *Narrative*, p. 192 (Pawnees)). From private information I learn that, in Calabar, tales which seem to be *Märchen* are recorded in a curious kind of symbolic writing or hieroglyphic diagrams. Further investigation may lead to the discovery of other instances of "illustrated" folk-tales.

and Australian, are terse and short; others, again, Polynesian and Maori, are extremely delicate and poetic in style. Everything depends upon the intellectual outlook of the race or of the folk among whom the story has been localised. Here, as elsewhere, *le style, c'est l'homme*. This, coupled with the fact that all localised tales are full of local beliefs, allusions, customs, etc., gives to the variants of a cycle much individuality in spite of their fundamental likeness, and makes one, familiar with many tales, easily refer any given story to its proper present-day habitat. If we could only do as much for its original source, how much would folk-lore be enriched!

It is curious to observe how similar the introductory and concluding formula of tales from widely separated lands are — a fact which proves how conservative the story-teller is, as well as that diffusion does not affect the essential parts of the story, since such unessential details are so strictly adhered to. "It was what once took place, and if it had never been, it would not now be related," is a common introductory phrase in Hungarian, Basque, Roumanian, and other tales, reduced to "There was once a time" (the "once upon a time" of our nurseries) in Celtic tales. To conclude a story, we have the comforting phrase concerning the *dramatis personæ*, "And if they have not died since then, they are alive to this very day," which occurs in tales from all parts of Europe. A frequent device of the story-teller is to pretend, *e.g.*, if the story closes with a wedding, that he himself was present, or to make some allusion to his personal acquaintance with the hero or heroine; while in all lands, savage or civilised, he acts the story with much dramatic ability. Even in the case of savage tales we find stereotyped formulæ existing, like the Melanesian introduction, "A story to tell," or the ending, "It is finished," or "That is the end of it"; or, in the case of a short tale, "Finished is the story

of so-and-so; not a very long one." As to the tales themselves, it is obvious that, in the course of ages, a certain liberty has been allowed in transferring incidents from one tale to another, in adding bits from the teller's own inventive skill, and in altering. Local colour, too, has been inevitable as stories passed from land to land, and there are few story-tellers who can resist the temptation of "padding," while their possession of the dramatic faculty, greater or less, would always tend to modify and alter the material of a tale. Yet this is not always the case. With the Eskimo, "the art requires the ancient tales to be related as nearly as possible in the words of the original version, with only a few arbitrary reiterations, and otherwise only varied according to the individual talents of the narrator, as to the mode of recitation, gesture, etc. . . . *Generally the smallest deviation from the original version will be taken notice of, and corrected,* if any intelligent person happens to be present. This circumstance accounts for their existence in an unaltered shape through ages."[1] And in all tales we observe how incidents, common to various cycles, are related in stereotyped phrases, or, when they occur more than once in the same story, they are repeated in much the same way; while, if the hero has to visit two or three personages in succession (giants, witches, kings, etc.), each successive visit is simply a duplicate or triplicate of the first. This is the manner of all primitive literature: it is the manner, too, of the child who has a story to tell. The real marvel is how, within these stereotyped formulæ, there is so much vivid incident, so many romantic situations, so much poetry—a world of blithe hearts, strong arms, and brave deeds.

It has sometimes been supposed that all stories were told at first in primitive verse. We have seen

[1] Rink, p. 85.

how ballads reproduce exactly the conditions of folk-tales; in some lands a story, current elsewhere in folk-tale form, is found occasionally as a ballad, and lacks a folk-tale version. It is certain, too, that among all primitive peoples, in telling a story or relating the events of the past day, there is a strong tendency, like that of Silas Wegg, to drop into poetry. The narrative becomes a rhythmic chant, with recurring formulæ—a kind of chorus, which is taken up by the audience whenever it occurs.[1] The Celtic and Teutonic bards turned into extempore verse the daily doings of their chiefs and kings, and this is but a more modern instance of what was common in far-off ages, and still exists among savages. Now, in many European and other tales we note a mingling of prose and verse, as if a ballad had been partially metamorphosed into a folk-tale. Such compounds are known as *cante-fables*. They are probably to be distinguished from tales in which recurring incidents are put into a rhymed formula, or where the emotional and emphatic parts are versified, or others in which scraps of old magical spells are given in their poetic form. Some, like Mr Jacobs, have thought that the *cante-fable* is the primitive germ out of which sprang ballad and folk-tale both.[2] But such minglings of prose and verse rather suggest a gradual disintegration of existing ballads into prose. The truer theory seems to be that of M. Jacottet regarding similar tales among the Basutos, who sing the metrical parts of their *cante-fables*. He thinks that all Basuto tales once possessed these verses, and is certain that in some, at least, the "song has been, as it were, the nucleus round which the whole story was formed"; in others, however, it has only a

[1] *Cf.* Batchelor, 2nd edition, p. 370. St John, i. 104. Wallace, *Amazon*, p. 64. Yrjo Hirn, *Origin of Art*. Grosse, *Anfänge der Kunst*, p. 223 *seq.*

[2] Jacobs, p. 247.

secondary importance. Among the Negroes the interested audience at intervals join in singing lines in the story, and repeat them till they are tired; while the Eskimo have prose tales with interspersed recitatives and songs, besides tales chanted throughout, and rhythmic poems. In India, by a reverse process, the bards often insert prose pieces between the metrical parts of their chants—an actual instance, perhaps, of verse disintegration into prose.[1]

Are we, then, to suppose that all folk-tales were once ballads, or at least, possessed a metrical or rhythmic form? Algonquin sagas, told of the mythical heroes of the past, were once, in Mr Leland's opinion, in verse form, and so handed down from one generation to another. Among the Menomini Indians, too, myths (some of which are folk-tale variants) are chanted by the shamans at the initiation of youths, while the Samoan tale of Siati, already referred to, is an epic poem of twenty-six stanzas.[2] We cannot assert dogmatically, however, in spite of such instances and of the *cante-fable* wherever found—European, Eskimo, Negro, or Basuto—that *all* folk-tales once were poems or ballads, though some no doubt were. Even among savages, *e.g.*, the Dyaks, actual prose narratives occur alongside those which are sung or chanted, and both forms are transmitted from generation to generation. There may have been some primitive rhythmic narrative, neither verse nor prose, out of which ballads on the one hand and folk-tales on the other, were evolved. In other cases there may have been ballads which degenerated partly (the *cante-fable*) or wholly into prose. While,

[1] Jacottet, Intro., p. ix. Dennett, p. 25. Bureau of Ethnology, *6th Annual Report*, p. 409 *seq.* Temple, i. 5.

[2] Leland, *A.L.*, p. 12. Bureau of Ethnology, *14th Annual Report*, p. 87. A full account of the universality of ballads or poems as the earliest historical documents will be found in Buckle, *History of Civilisation*, i. 268. See also Gummere, *Beginnings of Poetry*.

Again, those tales may have existed from the very first. A comparison of ballads and folk-tales preserving the same story or incident would do much to elucidate this problem, if pursued over a sufficiently wide field.

Though folk-tales, as we have studied them here, have a vital interest as exhibiting the beliefs and customs of early men, this is only one side of the subject. Their true appeal is not only an anthropological one. *They appeal to us as literature—the unwritten literature of far-back ages;* they show us how the imagination, the inventive skill, the literary instinct, of men worked in the dark backward and abysm of time. Fancy held men captive in its airy bonds quite as much then as it has done at any later age. We are charmed by these tales as children, rapt away into a mystic land of noble heroes and lovely heroines, giants, ogres, witches—a land of enchantments, where animals and things talk and are the friends of men, where transformation occurs every day, where death and pain are vanquished; a land, too, of grim and grisly shapes, and deeds, and thoughts, where horror and fear walk abroad in the daylight. But even from these there are ways of escape—magic arms, incredible strength, the undaunted spirit. Who does not recall with joy the glad time

"When the breeze of a joyful dawn blew free
In the silken sail of infancy,"

as he read or heard those unceasingly charming folk- and fairy-tales. *In sooth it was a goodly time.* As grown men and women, we take up a volume of these tales, and perhaps, ingrates that we are, we are ashamed that they should still charm and please us! But we are inevitably drawn to study them, and then we are amazed, as an investigation of their contents reveals to us, that such marvellous invention and execution, such tender and moving situations, such a

world of romance, should have been the work of men and ages so remote from us, so backward and barbarous, as we suppose. But so it is. The shuttle of fancy shot fast across the loom of thought, and wrought rich fabrics of imaginative art out of the things of everyday life. And if these tales contain, as was inevitable, wild passions, rough combats, brutal lusts, there exists side by side with them much that is tender and beautiful—rainbow-hued romance, love and heroism, sunshine and sparkling seas, and birds and flowers. Those who can thus look on these tales as primitive literature will not look askance at us who seek to determine the stuff out of which they were woven, and who resolve their magical elements into once-living belief and custom. For such a method takes nothing from their value; it shows us early man as the idle child playing with the grim realities of life; it sends us back to the tales themselves with a new enthusiasm.

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INDEX

[*Titles of stories are in italics. Numbers in brackets show that the reference is to a note on the page cited.*]

ABIGAIL, 132
Abipones, 161, 186
Abistanooch, 344
Aborigines of India, 116, 251
Abyssinians, 21, 25
Achilles, 203
Actæon, 329
Acta Sanctorum, 223-4
Adolphe, 241
Adonis, 99
Æneas, 115
Aerial flights, 222
Æsculapius, (97)
Africans, 39, 116, 125, 161, 181, 200, 203, 209, 277, 317, 335, 337-8. *See* Bantus, Negroes, etc.
Agricultural magic, 99
Agrippa of Nettesheim, 96
Ainos, 29, 42, 101-2, 117, 124, 186, 196, 247, 261, 264, 275, (277), 289, 337
Ai Tolysy, 170
Alberic, 374
Albert the Great, 96
Alexander the Great, 66, (266)
Ali Baba, 469
Allen, Grant, 99, 115, (128)
Alpine race, 104
Amalthea, 221
Amazimu, 301
Amboina, 144
Americans, Central, 250, 266
  North. *See* Red Indians
  South, 100, 116-7, 456
Amis and Amile, 422
Amphiaraus, (77)
Amrita, 54
Amulets, 201, 208
Anacreon, (189)
Anansi, 216
Ancestor as animal, 116, 249, 251
  as tree, 115, (128)
  reincarnation of, 123
  worship, 375
Andamanese, 100, 345
Andrianoro, 243
Andromeda, 408
Angurboda, 263
Anichkof, Prof., (96)
Animal ancestors, 116, 249, 251
  births, 263, (278), 360-1
  kings, 39, 245
  mother, 30, 220, 232, 273
  worship, 193, 248, (397)
Animals abducting women, 277
  acting as men, 38, 183
  at first men, 182, 248
  dead, restored, (84), (101)
  descent from, 183, 260, 263, 266
  friendly, 57, (171), 201, 210 *seq.*, 221, 225 *seq.*, 249
  future life of, (102)
  gold-producing, 220, 462
  living underground, 245
  men at first were, 182, 248
  rogue, 39
  suckled by women, (277)
  suckling children, (277)
  talking, 38 *seq.*, 247

Animals, wisdom, 41
see Animism, Totemism, Transformation
Animism, 38, 180, 188, 199, 247, 273
Annamese, 33, 86
Anthropological school, 15
Anpu, 127
Anubis, 90
Apep, 407
Aphrodite, 198
Apollo, 408
Apollodorus, (78), (90)
Apollonius, (97)
Apuleius, 325
Arabian Nights, 14, 60, 69, (139), 155, 165, 201, 212, 314, 385
Arabs, 41, 198, 335
Arawaks, 184, 374
Areoi, 317
Argo, 241
Argonautica, 10, (59)
Aristotle, 389
Arnold, M., 10
Art, primitive, (2), 476, (477)
Artemis, 96
Arthur, 203
Aryans, 249
Assiepattle, (49), 402
Assyrians, 37, 348
Asura, (72)
Atalanta, 177
Athenæus, 295
Attis, 99, (128)
Augustus, (266)
Australians, 29, 87, 101, 108, 115, 117, 123, 145, 180, 182, 206, 219, 247-8, 249, 316, 322, 335, 338, 343, 376, 398, (407), 470
Awiri, 330
Aztecs, 471

BABA YAGA, 52, 55, (78), 197, 283, 290, 303
Babylonian spells, 473
Bacchic mysteries, 88
Bacon, R., 96
Bahar i Danush, 281
Baiamai, 87, 154
Bakalai, 275
Balder, 142
Ballads, 42, 104, 105, (111), (116), 162, 164, 256-7, (298), 388, 480 *seq.*
diffusion of, 473
themes of, 473
Ball-Carrier, 286, 461
Balmung, 204
Banks Islanders, 147
Bantus, 39, 86, 345, 392
Bata, 113, 127
Bathing images, 76
Baptism, pagan, (76)
Barlaam and Josaphat, 453
Barrenness, 413
Barrett, Prof., 210
Basile, 14, 326
Basques, 38, 471
Basutos, (407)
Batchelor, Rev. J., 275
Battle of the Birds, 193
Bayle, 379
Bear Chief, 175, 379
Bear's Ear, 388
Beast children, (277)
fables, 38
marriage, 10, 253 *seq.*, 273, 339
Belgium, 100
Benfey, (166), (228), 246, 452
Bent, T., 77
Beowulf, 408
Berbers, 39
Berchtha, 303
Bérenger-Féraud, (76)
Bergoia, 294
Bheki the Frog, 346
Bird that made Milk, The, 256, 321
Birth, magic, 234
monstrous, 263
Black Bull o' Norroway, 328
Blackstone, 374
Blood talking, 214
covenant, 250
Blue-beard, 10, 307
Boand, 317
Boccaccio, 14
Bodhi-tree, (443)
Boece, H., 11
Bolotoo, 204
Bona Dea, 319
Bondeis, 200
Bones of dead preserved, 100, 111
Bony, 168
Book of Dead, (128)
Boots, 371
Bora, 316
Borneo, 427
Borough-English, 372 *seq.*
Boston of Ettrick, (104)
Botocudoes, 470
Brazil, 322

Brer Rabbit, 39
Bretons, 25, 144
Briar Rose, The, 85
Bride hiding, 21
  the true, 23
Brontë, E., 42
Bronze culture, diffusion of, 472, (475)
Buddhism, 97, 116, (215), 224, 303, (443), 471
  influence of, on folk-tales, 237, (243), 246
Buddhist origin of folk-tales, 452
  literature, 38, (228)
Buite, 341
Bulgarians, (103)
Bull-roarer, 87, (88), 316
Bundle of life, 132
Bunjil, 337
Bunyarl, 182
Bunyip, (407)
Burial rites, 99
Bushmen, 39, 184, 196
Bush soul, 147
Butler, Bishop, 182

CADMUS, 90
Callaway, 209
Cambodjans, 86, 318
Campbell of Islay, 98, 166, 367
Cannibalism, 22, 279
  in folk-tales, 302 *seq.*, 321
  legal, 299
  magic, 299
  origin of, 298 *seq.*
  ritual, 297, 303
  witch, 303, 428
Canrig the Stumpy, 290
Cante-fable, 480
Cap of Invisibility, 221
Carcase turning into insects, (265), (289)
Caribs, 111
Carpet, magic, (221)
Caucasic element in the East, 472
Caucasus, peoples of the, 335
Caul, 144
Celebes, 21, 318
Celts, (26), (28), (35), 41, 44, 54, 65, 88, 102, (103), 104, 184, 200, 204, 222, 349, 406, (407), 425
Celtic spells, 473
Ceramese, 108
Ceramic art, 470
Ceridwen, 165
Ceylon, 295
Chamberlain, B. H., 247
Champa Dal, 138, 291, 390
Chao Gnoh, 311
Charlemagne, 203
Charles II., 66
Charms, 201, 214, 473
Chederles, 388
Childe Rowland, 22
Childe Wynd, (151)
Children suckled by animals, 277
Chinese, 156, 161, 198, 207, 261, 335, 401, 427
Chinese ware in ancient Egypt, 472
Christianity, influence of, on customs, 303
  influence of, on folk-tales, 9, 19, 388, 476
Church built over holy well, 77
Churinga, 123, 145, 322
Circe, 10, 150
Clairvoyance, 208, (315)
Cleostratus, 397
Clodd, E., 143
Clouston, W. A., 314
Comb, (180)
Comœtho, 126
Conception, 123
Connla's Well, 317
Core, 266
Coreans, 39
Corpse, vitality of, 101-2
Cosquin, E., 246, 453-4
Couvade, 471
Covenanters, 224
Cox, Miss, 15
Cox, Sir G. W., 14, 432
Creation myths, (102)
Criminal as victim, 400
Cromm Cruach, 425
Cronus, 49, (288)
Crookes, Sir W., 208
Crystal-gazing, 34 *seq.*, 208
Culture heroes, 299
Cumulative tales, 188, 469
Cupid and Psyche, 476
Cushing, F. H., 455, 467
Cyclades, 77, 88, 100
Cycles of tales—
  Abandoned Wife, (24), 67, 466
  Aladdin, 14, 137, 201, (216), 237, 321
  Androcles, 246
  Ass, Table, and Cudgel, 214, 434
  Barrenness removed, 410

Cycles of tales—
Bear's Son, 270, 385, 467
Beauty and Beast, 150, 253, 269, 273, 327, 338, 346, 361
Blue-Beard, 53, 142, 293, 306, 467
Briar Rose, 31
Cannibal Captor, 195
Husband, 178, 292
Wife, 298
Cap o' Rushes, 362, 467
Catskin, (197), 467
Churlish Brothers, 356
Cinderella, 15, 30, 31, 46, 106, 108, 220, 231, 273, 283, 297, 357
Clever Bargain, 366
Covetous Companion, 106
Cupid and Psyche, 26, 190-1, 227, (243), 253, (257), 261, 325, 338, 361, 467
Cyclops, (49), 195, 279 *seq.*, 299
Danaë, (411)
Dancing Daughters, (222)
Water, 59, 119
Dead Mother, 42
Rider, 105
Visitor, 103
Devil Outwitted, 416
Dog Gellert, 246
Dragon Sacrifice, 17, (49), 234-5, (267), 381
Eating Bird, 41
Flight from Giant, 193
Forbidden Chamber, 173, 306, 421
Fortunate Youth, 365
Fountain of Youth, 65
Friendly animals, 224 *seq.*, 297
Frog Bridegroom, 256, 269, 273, 361, 405
Giant with no Soul, 133 *seq.*, 211
Godfather, 415
Golden Bird, 230
Gluttonous Girl, 294
Grateful Debtor, 416
Hand of Glory, 32
Impostor, 56, 213, 240
Jack and Beanstalk, 30, 286, 432, 455
Jealous Brothers, 355
Jealous Sisters, 12, (114), (263), 359
Kind and Unkind, (191), (246)
King and Wild Man, 312, 384, 467
Cycles of tales—
Koshchei the Deathless, 312, 467
Language of Birds, 40
Lost Husband or Wife, 325 *seq.*
Member, 98
Magic Horse, 173, 310
Mirror, 34, 469
Pipe, 110
Sack, 84, 216, 434
Treasures, 158
Master Thief, 122
Melusina, 158, 329, 346
Mermaid or Seal Wife, 275
Ogre Outwitted, 282, 299
Ogre's Daughter, 98
Old Woman and Pig, 188
Osiris, 90
Outcast Son, 364
Perseus, 55, 119, 159, 202, 206, 234, 378, 381
Promised Child, 239, (246), (253), 311, 410 *seq.*
Puss in Boots, 13, 38, 195, 225, 467
Quest, 61, 353
Ransomed Parent, 421
Red Riding Hood, 47, 51
Robber Bridegroom, 37, 308, 323
Rumpelstiltskin, 422
Separable Soul, 118 *seq.*, 211, 239
Shoes of Swiftness, 218
Sleeping Beauty, 85
Supernatural Bride, 340, 342
Swallow, 47, 455
Swan Maidens, 125, 162, 272, 333, 342, 438
Tasks set by Captor, 205, 240, (392)
Talking Fish, 235
Theft from Grave, (114)
Tom Thumb, 47 *seq.*, 51
Tom-Tit-Tot, 27
Traitress, 58, (246), 314, 467
Transformation, 113 *seq.*, (128)
Combat, 164, 430
of Fugitives, 167 *seq.*
of objects, 171
Transformed Brothers, 81, 152, 159
Treacherous Brothers, 211, 350
True Bride, 23, 45, (67), 150, 153, 159

Cycles of tales—
Truth and Falsehood, 12, 68, (78), 466
Two Brothers, 113, 127, 153
Caskets, 191
Ungrateful Serpent, (241)
Unnatural Mother, 112, 295
Value of Salt, 362
Watchers by Tomb, 367
Water of Life, 52 *seq.*, 314, 353
Wicked Queen, (141)
World's Beauty, 31, 34, 358
Youngest Son, 12, 17, 22, 47, 106, 150, 217, 239, 271, 286, 350 *seq.*
Cycles, mingling of story, 465
savage parallels to, 458-9

DAMARAS, 115
Danaë, 476
Dances, symbolic, 88
Darien tribes, 22, 39
Darwinism, primitive, 183, 248
David, 132
Dead helping, 220, 232, 370, 376
in animals, 116
in trees, 115
Deæ Matres, (28)
Death, 52, 85, 102-3
contagion of, 76
savage idea of, 52, 82, 85, 89
Dedication of child to divinity, 430
De Gubernatis, 14, (246), 269, 432, 448
Delilah, 127
Demane, 288
Demeter, 78, 90, 288
Demons, 103, 105, 299, 303, 323, 339, 412
Dennett, R. E., 86, 247
Destroyer of Hearts, 128
Dev, Devis, Div, 85, 212, 290
Devil, 423
Dhuramoolin, 87
Diana, 329
Diffusion of folk-tales. *See* Folk-tales
Dionysus, 90, 98, (102), 301, (461)
Disease of Language, 51, 449
Dismembered, 89 *seq.*
Dismemberment of dead, 99, 100, 106
Divination, 209 *seq.*, 348
Diviners, 207, 209
Divining Rod, 210
Doghead, 140
Dolls, magic, 194, 197
Donica, 103
Don Joseph Pear, 226
Dozon, A., 450, 467
Dragon, 41, 140, 195, 381 *seq.*
and water, 404 *seq.*
tongues of, (409)
Drako, 136, (407)
Dravidians, 116
Dress tabu, 343 *seq.*
Dyaks, 17, 29, 37, 101, 115, 116, 125, 263, 277, 300

EA, 78
Eagle fed with hero's flesh, 239
Earl of Mar's Daughter, 162
Earth goddess, 303
Easaidh Ruadh, 135
East o' the Sun, 327
Edda, 31, (101)
Efwa-éké, 123, 166
Eggs as omens, 196
Egyptians, 21, 37, 86, 99, 100, 102, 107, 116, 128, 249, 335, 348
Elesa, 322
Eleusinia, 88
Ellis, Major, 331
Rev. W., 323
Elton, C., 371, 373, 375-6
Embalming, 101
Emerson, 22
Endophagy, 299
English folk-customs, 38, 100, 115, 125
Epics, Babylonian, 11
Esthonian, 70-1, 177, 203, (375)
Finnish, 91, 174, 203, 440, 443
Hindu, 10, 83, 314
Persian, 404
Erskine, J. E., 404
Ernatalunga, 123
Eskimos, 29, 47, 101-2, 116, (127), 184, 200, 207, (278), 300
Esthonians, 25, 200
Ethics of folk-tales, 12
Ethiopians, fountain of, 66
Etruscan spells, 473
Eurydice, 45
Euryphilus, 316, 388
Evil, driving out, 81
Excalibur, 203
Exophagy, 299

FABLIAUX, 39, 65
Fairies, 22, (28), 44, (45), 83, 146, 153-4, (192), 290, 330, 339, 412, 428, 452
and Witches, (147), (195), 222-3
Fairy changeling, 428-9
dance, 223
eddy, 222
paradise, (315)
wife, 46, 334, 340
Farrer, J. A., 14
Fates, 120
Fatima, 358
Feather-bird, 307
Feathers, magic, 211
Fenris wolf, 263
Fergusson, J., 408
Festivals, folk, (222)
sex, 223
Fetich, child, 414, 430
family, 321
tabu, 320-1
Fetichism, 10, 196, 199, 201, 209
F··ility, 413
i (17), 165
Fi fum, (305)
Fin 152, 203, 280
Fijian 108, 204
Finns, 196
Firdausi, 404
First-born, 414, 426
Fletcher, 66
Flinders-Petrie, W. M., (128)
Folk-Songs. *See* Ballad
Folk-Tales and Art, 2, (477)
and myths, 432, 448, 452
antiquity of, 13, 476
as fiction, 4 *seq.*, as literature, 482, as nature myths, 246
ballads, 482
Christian influence on, 9, 19, 388, 476
classes of, 450
collections of, 2
conservatism in telling 479
detritus of myths, 432
diffusion of, by gipsies, 475
dissemination and diffusion of, 452, 463 *seq.*, 468, 472, 475
Eastern and Buddhist origin of, 452
earliest, 457
ethics of, 12
first told in verse, 479
Folk-Tales and Art—
incidents of, 11, 453
similar in various cycles, 466 *seq.*
independent invention of similar, 459, 470
in epics and sacred books, 10, 279-80, 432, 452
instances of borrowing, 468
introductory formulæ of, 478
invented in many centres, 454, 464
literary collections of, 13 *seq.*
mythical ending of, 451, 469
origin of, 1, 5, 451
primitive life in, 4, 7, 452
recital of, 2, 479-80
style of, 477
used by teachers, 247, 252, 363
to inculcate morals, 336
various strata in, 3, 8, 9, 476
African, East, 281, (285)
Afghan, 367
Aino, 81, 154, 163, 172, 202, 238, 260, 262, 289, 297, (372), 394, 468, 477
Albanian, 23, 31, 57, 137, 212, 237, 358, 389, 410
Annamese, 114
Arab, 40, 59, 60, 119, 201, 237, 356, 412
Araucanian, 106
Arawakan, 439
Armenian, 234
Ashanti, 216
Asia Minor, 151
Australian, 12, 48-9, 81, 94, 129, 154, 297, 340, 396, 437, 444, 478
Austrian, 96, 215
Avar, 270, 356, 388
Balochi, (82), 159
Basque, 59, 62, 71, 98, 119, 133, 152, 159, 171, 195, 202, 205, 253, 279, 284, 307, 328, 356, 362, 366, 415-6, 478
Basuto, 24, (43), (46), 48, 112, 120, 129, 172, (178), 195, 227, 264, 267, 321, 360, 363, (364), 480
Berber, 189, 211
Bohemian, 49, 73, 158, 217, 237, 242
Borneo, 387
Brazilian, 396

Folk-Tales—
Breton, 41, 55, 57, (73), 95, 97, 119, 134, 150, 158, 168, 202, 215, 237, 296, 415, 416
Buddhist, 363, (381)
Burmese, 155
Bushman, 94
Cambodian, 311
Carib, 91, 317
Catalan, 98, 111, 151
Celtic, 40, 41, 54, 61, 85, 134, 151, 158, 193, 195, 270, 284, 307, 315, 317, 329, 342, 367, 393, 417, 420, 477-8
Chilian, 108, 232, 326
Chinese, 212, 218, 244, 261, 277, 289, 344, 389
Corsican, 108, 232, 434
Croatian, 270, 342
Czech, 215, 309
Dalmatian, 297
Danish, 20, 41, 73, 190, 230, 241, 327, 419
Dardistan, 141, 270
Dyak, 18, 36, 262, 267, 277, 285, 333, 369, 394, 436, 481
Eastern, 31, 40, 69, 121, 131, 155, 157-8, 205, 212, 242, 262, 314, 346, 355, 364, 422, 477
Egyptian, 63, 113, 127, 198, (281), 362, 433
English, 22, 32, 85, (151), 214, 256, 296
Eskimo, 12, 126, 160, 163, 179, 244-5, 261, 263-5, 267, 272, 289, 292, 295, 468, 479, 481
Esthonian, (24), 70-1, (109), 154, 169, 177, 198, 203, 215, (219), 220, 256, (281), 307, 311, 331, 355, 360, 368, 386, 390, 405, 420
Fijian, 437
Finnish, 30, 40, 45, 71-2, 91, (103), 109, 174, 177, 203, 232, 418, 421, 440
Flemish, 270
French, 111, 212, 232, 312, 389, 392, 477
Gaelic, 30, 31, 35, 42, 98, 109, 165, 171, 232-3, 317
Georgian, 109, 217, 290
German, 17, 30, 40-1, 96, 111, 119, 135, 150, 158-9, 169, 195, (214), 217, 218, 230, 240, 270, 282, 307, 309, 311, 328, 352, 420
Folk-Tales—
Greek, ancient, (82), 93, 120, 136, 150, 179, 189, 295, 325, 387, 389, 393
modern, 32, 53, 55-6, 62, 73, 114, 119, 121, 127, 153, 157, 159, 201, 205, 211, 216, 241, 254, 280, 285, 290, 293, 297, 298, 326, 357, 362, 410, 418
Guiana, 155, 160, (162), 245, 258, 342
Gypsy, 238, 411
Hebrew, 127
Hessian, 213, 308
Hindu, 40, 69, 74, 83, 84, 94, 109, 114, 122, 138, 141, 151, 174, 192, 197, 202, 205, 214, 218, 226, 232, 237, 255, 267, 281, 291, 298, 327, 353, 367, 372, 390, 394, 411, 413
Hottentot, 48, 129, 163, 170, 189, 244, 268
Hungarian. *See* Magyar
Icelandic, 28, 32, 106, 154, [illegible]
Irish, 31, 42, 103, 163, 17[illegible] 215, 317, 344, 376
Italian, 24, 53, 55, 58, 60, 9[illegible], 108, 110, (114), 137, 142, 151, 158, 176, 189, 196-7, 214, 218, 226, 232, 237, 238, 240, 254-5, 270, 284, 308, 326-8, 416, 469, 477
Jaina, 45
Japanese, 18, (23), 84, 131, (191), (219), 235, 243, 270, (285), 290, 326, 333, 386
Kabyle, 59, 109, 352, 383, 391
Kafir, 6, 46, 49, (93), 120, 172, 179, 213, 220, 234, 256-7, (265), (277), 283, 288, 292, 298, 321, 327-8, 340, 362-3, 378, 421, 456
Kalmuk, 217-8, 220
Kashmiri, 40, 60, 67, 69, 70, 83, 85, 95, 121, 138-9, 141, 159, 174, 178, 211, 214, 218, 220, 227, 232, 255, 313, 364, 367, 390, 405
Khyoungtha, 292
Kirghiz, 69, 176, 281, 354
Korean, 202, (238)
Kuki, 176
Kumaun, 139, 215, 311, 412
Lapp, 131, 138, 235, 281, 311, 421

Folk-Tales—
Lithuanian, 31, 53, 72, 119, 215, 254, 308, 328
Lorraine, 32, 57, 60, 63, 68, 84, 96, 98, 134, 151, 169, 173, 205, 215, 239, 261, (269), 270, 309, 327, 362, 370, 380, 415-6, 434
Lusatian, 270
Magyar, 26, 40, 61, 65, 67-8, 83, 140, (151), 159, 167, 171, 194, 202, 215, 225, 235, 242, 254, 269, 283, 295, 350 (369), 380, 382, 411, 419, 478
Malagasy, 93, 131, 162, 175, 177, 194, 232, 243, 250, 267, 285, 293, 296, 329, 340, 352, 354, 357-9, (372), 477
Malay, 297, 438
Maori, 63, 80, 94, 178, 366, 398, 478
Melanesian, 120, 228, 232, (261), 282, (318), 321, 333, (394), 436, 438, 478
Mingrelian, 36, 53, 367
Mongol, 40, 54, 119, 122, 133, 159, 227, 238, 285, 297, 393, 405, 439
Negro, 1, 5, 6, 34, 36, 72, 82, 111, 178, (191), 217, 229, 245, 260, 268, 272, 277, 293, 298, 321, 329, *seq.*, 339, 341, 348, (361), 371, 383, 386, 388, 456, 468-9, 481
New Caledonian, 13, (192)
New Guinea, 259, 269, 344, 394, 455
Norman, 332
Norse, 23, 30, 31, 40, 58, 72, 96, 103, 135, 164, (171), 215, 226, 233, 255, 285, 291, 307-8, 311, 342, 352, 365, 371, 389, 392
Pamir, 141
Persian, 62, 140, 155, 158, 281, 334, 355, 391
Peruvian, 352
Picardy, 270
Pisan, 57, 240, 308
Polish, 45, 111, 132, 168, 193, 215, 254, 418
Polynesian, 42, 70, 80, 93, 160, 162, 236, 290, 438, 478
Pomeranian, 344
Portuguese, 32, 111, (151), 168, 254, (388), 468

Folk-Tales—
Red Indian, 12, 18, 22, 70, 72, 84, 91-2, 95, 126, 132, 142, 158, 166, 169, 177, 191, 230-1, 236, 243, 261-3, 265, 267-8, 281, 286, (289), 332, 358, 379, 396, 439-40, 444, 468-9
Romagnan, 67, 156
Roman, 120
Roumanian, 63, 90, (93), 478
Russian, (23), 24, 30-1, 52, 55, 58, 71, 78, 91, 103, 108-9, 110, 113, 132, 136, 150, 168, 191, 195, 197, 205, 235, 237, 257, 270, 294, 313, 315, 328, 350, 369, 420, 435, 451
Samoan, 81, 147, 173, 295,
Samoyede, 130, 133, 176
Scots, 27, 44-5, 104, 233, 240, 296, 402
Servian, 40, 57, 108-9, 185, (211), 232, 356, 365, (388), (451)
Siamese, 131, 174, 292
Siberian, 365
Sicilian, 53, 111, 190, 193, 254, 280, 422
Slavonic, 41, 72-3, 212, 477
Spanish, 63, 111, 121,
Suabian, 96, 119, 308-9
Sumatran, 127
Swahili, 131, 226, 236, 352, 412, 468, 477
Swedish, 41, 45, 53, 191, 194, 197, 226, 284, 296, 309, 326-7, 420-1
Swiss, 392
Syriac, 215, 351, 412
Tamil, (74), 165, 243
Tartar, 49, 139, 170
Tasmanian, 81
Thuringian, 427
Transylvanian, 111,
Turkish, 355, 388

Folk-Tales—
Tuscan, 30, 95, (104), 111, 137, 294, 327, 411, 416
Tyrolese, 63, 67, 98, 111, 119, 169, 173, 215, 254, 270, 309-10
Uganda, 194, 227, (411)
Venetian, 411
Wallachian, 308
Welsh, 27, 142, 165, 290, 317, 334
Wend, 308
Yaos, 49, 111
Zanzibar, 112
Zulu, 25, 112, 129, 234
Folk-Songs. *See* Ballads
Fomoré, 204, 426
Food of dead and of fairyland, (178)
forbidden, 316
supply by magical methods, 219
Fortunatus, 219
Foundation, sacrifice at, 427
Fountain of Youth, 65
Fox-demon, 156
women, 261
France, folk-lore of, 38, 100, 125, 373
Frazer, J. G., 14, 89, 99, 143, 146, 426
Fuji Yama, 66
Fuller, 224
Fylfot, 474

GALGEN-MANNLEIN, 200
Ganviviris and Ro Som, 228-9
Gaster, Dr, 454
Genie, 201, 214
Genius, 147, 250
German folk-lore, 38, 76, 125, 200, 303, 373, 376
George of Cappadocia, 381
of Nicomedia, 381
Ghosts in folk-tales, (43), 102-3, 111, (114), (147), (195), (200)
in stones, (156)
in trees, 115
Ghost-wife, 333
Giant, 19, 133 *seq.*, 148, (157), 195, 289
Gibbon, 379, 381
Gilgames, 329
Gipsies, 470, (475)
Girdle, 346
Giviok, 289
Glaucus, (82)
Glooskap, 70, 95, 142, 181, 281
Gods, abode of, 442, 447
and goddesses as demons, etc., 303, 423, 452
jealous of men, 447
with animal form, (258), 260, 323
Goethe, 296
Goibniu, 65
Golden Bird, 233
Gomme, G. L., 14, 375
Gram, (203)
Greek folk-lore, 37, 65, 76-7, (97), 161, 198, 207, 290, 301, 319, 346, 348, 426
Greenland, 181
Greenwell, Canon, 107
Green Bird, 205
Grey Norris, 172, 344
Grimm, 2, 17, 31, 35, 85, 153, 179, 217, 233, 282, 296, 307, 328, 384
Grinnell, J. B., 455
Gronw, 143
Guardian spirit, 144, 147, 199, 250, 320
Guatemalans, 250
Guiana, 39, 196, 206-7, 300, 345
Guppy, H. B., 224
Gurney, E., (43), 47
Gwion, 165

HAGIOLOGY, 97, 199
Hahn, J. G. von, 14, 127
Hair, 126, 144, 193, 213, 343
floating down stream, (127), 369
magic animals', 211
speaking, 193
strength in, 143
string, 126
witch's, (157)
Half-Iron, 137
Hallucinations, 185-6, (315)
Hamed ben Ceggad, 211
Handsome Paul, 167
Hansel and Grethel, 282
Hanuman, 83, 131
Haoma, 65
Hapai, 346
Harald, 392
Harischandra, 413
Hartland, S., 119, 272, 319, 454
Heart as seat of life, 128
eaten by witches, 146
Hearth-place, 373, 375
Heaven and earth, myth, 441
Hebrew folk-lore, 74, 132

Hedgehog, cooking, 470
Heimdal, 203
Hera, 90
Hercules, 387, 408
Hermes, 90
Hermodr, (221)
Herodotus, 66, 267, 374
Hesione, 387, 408
Hesperides, 408
Hindu folk-lore, 39, 54, 65-6, (72), 76, 102, (103), 116, 162, 198, 201, (258), 266, 276, (277), 294, 301, 318, 337
Hinernoa and Tutane, 366
Hippomenes, 177
History of Nassar, 140, 155, 334, 391
Hitopadesa, 314
Hoel, laws of, 373
Home, D. D., 224
Homer, 10, 150
Hop o' my Thumb, 354
Horse, magic, 173, 236, 323
Hottentots, 247
Hovas, 102, 113
Huldre folk, 291
Hun, Hungar, 300
Hungarians, 373
Husband and Wife, 20, 335 *seq.*
Hymir, (143)
Hypnotism, 32, 85, 88, (186), 208, 333
Hyperæsthesia, 210

ICELANDIC folk-lore, 144, 294
Idhunn's apples, 65
Ifara, 177
Igdrasil, 443
Ikutama, 326
Images buried with dead, 198
of gods, 197, 323
reflected, 207
replacing human sacrifices, 198
speaking, 198
Im Thurn, E. F., 38
Inanimate objects, 188 *seq.*
Inao, 124
Incanti, 392
Incidents of folk-tales, 11, 16, 155, 454, 457
savage parallels to, 457-8
similar, in various cycles, 466
India as centre of diffusion, 452
Indra, (22), 407
Ine, 162
Ine and Tuna, 260
Infanticide, 429
Inheritance, in law and custom, 373
Initiation rites, 87, 107, 144, 146, 318, 380, 460
Intellectual and imaginative productions, immortality of, 477
Invisibility, 221
Iphicles, (78)
Iron, fear of, 204, 339
Irrational ideas in folk-tales, 3 *seq.*, 278, 475
Irvingites, 224
Ishtar, 78, 329
Isis, 90
Isonokami's sword, 204
Italian folk-lore, 125, 186, 222

Jack and the Beanstalk, 433
Jacobs, J., 480
Jacottet, E., 360, 480
Jade axes, 472
Jahn, Dr, 14
Japanese folk-lore, 66, 81, 156, 184, 197-8, 203-4, (258), 261, 264, 290
Jason, 10, 179
Java, 263
Jean d'Arras, 329
Jenik, 237
Jevons, F. B., 336, 349
Jewel, magic, 201, 214
Johnson, R., 106
Johnston, Sir H., 11, 468
Jonah, 50
Jones, Rev. W. H., 350
Joseph, 127
Joyeuse, 204
Jumala, 174
Jüngsten-recht, 372 *seq.*
Juniper Tree, The, 296
Jupiter Lycæus, 316
Jurupari pipes, 317, 322
Juveignerie, 372 *seq.*

KAFIRS, 39, 116, 221, 318, 337, 378
Kalangs, 264
Kalevala, 10, 30, 31, 91, 174, 177, 203, 440, 443
Kalevide, 10
Kalevipoeg, 70-1, 177, 203, (375)
Kali, 413
Kalkagari, 89
Kanteletar, 174

Karens, 147, 289, 406
Kashmiri, 39
Kathakoça, 157, 413
Katha Sarit Sagara, 197
Kavirondo, 345
Keane, A. H., 471
Keats, 256, (257)
Kempion, 257
Khasi hill tribes, 196
Khonds, 426
Kings in folk-tales, 16
  animal, 245
King Yellowhammer, 225
King's child as sacrifice, 426
Kingsley, Miss, 147, 341, 430
Kintu, 194
Kirk, Rev. R., 44
Ko-ji-ki, 11, 84, 172, 204, 243, 326, 333, 386
Koshchei, 91, 120, 136, 313
Kovavelsky, M., 336
Kullervo, 203
Kumaun, 335

LADY GODIVA, 319
La Fontaine, 110
Laidly Worm, (151)
Laksmana, 141
Lamia, 256-7
Lamiæ, 290, (294), 389
Lang, A., 14, 49, (171), (174), (210), 336, 346, 370, 464
Language of animals, 41
Laomedon, 387
Lapps, (102), 117, 198, (201), 318, 322
Legends, mediæval, 96
Leland, C. G., 170, 320, 461, 481
Lemminkainen, 91, 177
Leopard, human, 105
Levitation, 224
Life-hair, 126
  restoration to, 80, 230
  separable, 123 *seq.*
  token, 118
  tree, 144
Limbang, 369
Limbs restored, 67
Lip ornament, 470
Lithuanians, 403
Little Peachling, 235
Littleton, 374
Livonians, 403
Livy, 38
Llew, 143
Loki, 263, 468
Lönnrott, 468
Lord of Underworld, 326
  Peter, 226
Lorraine, 21
Lox, 91, 468
Lucky stone, etc., 202
Lusifee, 169

MABINOGION, 10, 142
Macdonald, Rev. J., 86
Magic, 19, 32, 34, 54, 84, 99, 107 *seq.*, 206, 210, 212 *seq.*, 276, 323, 343, 345, 473
  articles inherited, 376
  mimetic, 214, 219, 348
  sympathetic, 118, 121, 125, 144, 198, (370)
Maiden stolen, 21
Maineté, 372 *seq.*
Mairavana, 141
Malagasy folk-lore, 37, 83, 198, 267, 406
Malaise, 160
Malay folk-lore, 21, 39, (103), 125, 147, 161, 456, 472
Malbrouk, 133, 204, 415
Mally Whuppie, (285), 354
Malsumsis, 142
Manabush, 175, 230, 380, 460
Manchuria, 335
Mandeville, 66
Mandrake, 200, 376
Manitou, 146, 198-9, 209, 230, 249-250
Manorial right, 373
Maol a Chliobain, 284
Maori folk-lore, 31, 111, 125, 470
Märchen and Saga, 450
Maria Morevna, 313
Marquesas Islands, 300
Marriage, 17, 20, 25, 98, 336
  with beasts, 233
Mars, 121
Maspero, G., 335
Mathab Mathonwy, 142
Matiamoo, 209
Matriarchate, 18, 428
Maui, 50, 64, 93, 160, 366
Mavunga, 330, 382
Max Müller, 14, 269, 432, 452
Medea, 10, 93, 179

Medicine-man, 19, 32, 37, 85-6, 107, 133, 146, 148, 153, 162, 177, 184-5 *seq.*, 200, 206, 208-10, 222-4, (303), 316, 318, 333, 392, 413, 430
of life, 83
Mediums, 209, 224
Medusa, 382
Melampus, 78
Melanesian folk-lore, 100, 124, 181, 196, 210, 404, (407), 426, 456
Meleager, 120
Melusina, 46, 257, 329
Men, rites of women tabu to, 318
Menelaus, 166
Menomini Indians, 175, 209, 230, 460, 481
Mentone, 100
Merchant of Venice, (191)
Mermaid, (145), (169), 275, 345
Merodach, 408
Metempsychosis, 166
Mexican folk-lore, 76, 88, 128, 198, 348, 403
Michabo, 408
Micronesians, 101
Midgard serpent, 263
Migration of peoples, 472
Mikumwiss, 391
Minos, 126, 397
Minotaur, 263, 397
Miracles, 97, 224
Mirror divination, 34 *seq.*, 123, 384
Miru, 290, 304
Mithraism, 88
Mohammed the Languid, 236
Mohammedanism, 66, 97, 116, 198, (215)
Mongols, 29, 39, 107, 275, 374
Monkey, stories of, 131
Monsters, prehistoric, 395
Mons Tro, 241
Montaigne, (157)
Moors, 300
Morgan le Fay, 120
Morocco, 335
Mortuary columns, 470
Moses, 66
Mosimodi, 112
Mother, descent through, 376
Mother-in-law, 338
Mountain as world of dead or of gods, 442
Mugain, 263
Mulieres sub-introductæ, 379
Mullyan, 297
Mummification, 99, 102, 128
Mycenæan art, 474-6
Myers, F. W. H., 208
Mysteries, 88, 266, 317, 323, 380
Myth and *Märchen*, 452
story germs, 79, 448, 452
of sun catching, 439
Mythic explanation of things, 181, 436, 440
Mythological school, 342, 432, 452
Mythologies, 11, 15, 65, 166
Myths, Aino, (102), 248
Andaman, 443
Ashanti, (191)
Australian, 87, 94, 182, 337, 444-6
Babylonian, 64, 78, (102), 329, 408
Borneo, 442
Bushman, 50, 94
Celtic, 65, 160, 263
Chinese, 83, 441
Cingalese, 316
Egyptian, 90, 160, 407, 441, 448
Eskimo, 336, 445
Esthonian, (102)
Finnish, 445
Greek, 49, 65, (82), 90, (97), (102), 126, 149, 160, 166, 221, 260, 263, 266, 288, 329, 387-8, 397, 408, 441-2, (461)
Guiana, 50, 443, 445
Hindu, 50, 65, (102), 160, 166, 407, 441
Japanese, 266, 441
Kirghiz, 275
Lithuanian, 64
Malay, 50, 83
Maori, 346
Melanesian, 51
Mexican, 443
Mongol, 64, 274
Negro, 203, 275, 448
Persian, 65
Polynesian, 50, (59), 66, 70, 80, 83, 93, 160, 260, 266, 276, 304, 366, 441
Red Indian, 50, (102), 123, 142, 175, (191), 230, 274-5, 316, 380, 407, 440-1, 446, 460
Roman, (97)
Samoan, 50, 81, 173, 401
S. American, 337
Scandinavian, 65, 83, (102), 142, (143), 160, 263, 408
Semitic, 83, 316, 442

Myths, Tibetan, (275)
Tongan, 316
chanted, 481
depicted, (477)

NAGAS, 266
Nagual, 146, 250
Naiad, 187
Nail clippings, 144, 213, 343
Nakedness in folk-custom, 318, 336
Name, 26, 220, 337, 343
Nassau, Dr., 1, (37), 217, 318, 322, 330, 469
Natal, 209
Nectar, 65
Negro folk-lore, 1, 33, 36, 88, 105, 117, 123, 125, 146-7, 184, 196, 199, 210, 247, 249-50, 300, 318, 403, 427, 430, 470
Negroes of America, 161
Neolithic burials, 98 *seq.*
Neoplatonists, 224
Nephthys, 90
Neptune, 387
Nereid, 153, 241, 343
New Britain, 318
Guinea, 86, 100, (106), 161, 182, 207, 338, 345
Zealand, 86, 100, 116, 209
Ngaru, 304
Nisus, 126
Njembe society, 318
Norka, 350
Noum, 127
Novelist, methods of primitive, 5, 77, 148, 179, 187, 251, 319 *seq.*, 323-4, 341, 349, 377, 385, 424, 457, 479
Nufoers, 335
Nzambi, 245

OBLIVION INCIDENT, 167, 171, (173), 332, 338
Odin, (203)
Odysseus, 150, 279 *seq.*
Ogier the Dane, (120)
Ogma, 204
Ogre, 19, 21, 135, 148, 299, 300-1, 387, 452
Okikurumi, 81, 172
Oni, 290
Orgiastic rites, 5, (223), 319
Orphic myth, (102)
Ornai, 204
Osella, 190
Osiris, 90, (93), 98, 113
Ossian, 151, 315
Ovid, 187

PACARISSA, 250
Packet, magic, (155)
Palæolithic art, 476, (477)
burials, 100, 106
Panchatantra, 131, 212, 452
Pandora, 316
Panj Phul, 121
Paracelsus, 97
Parker, Mrs, 343
Parsis, 101
Pasiphaë, 263
Passover, (189)
Patriarchate, 376
Pausanias, 316, 393
Pawnees, 39
Peasant folk-lore, 25, 38, 77, 102, 117, 125, 144, 184-5, 196, 200, 207, 212, 222, 428, 476
Pelew Islands, 337
Pelias, 93
Pelion and Ossa, 442
Pelops, 288
Penda, 260
Pentamerone, 14, 177, (226), 326, 416
Peppino, 328
Perrault, 14, 110, 225, 253
Persephone, 78, (191)
Perseus, 203, 408
Persians, 37, 65-6, 335
Personality, alternating, 333
savage idea of, 181-3
Peruvians, 76, 198, 250, 403, 426
Petitot, 92
Petrifaction, 156, 206
Phantasms, 43
Philippines, 100, 115
Philostratus, (257)
Phorloë, 387
Pictographs, (477)
Pivi and Kabo, (192)
Placenta, 144
Plant, girl emerging from, 114
Plants, magic, 54, 83
Pleistocene man, 457
time, 471
Plutarch, 317, 336, 403
Poetry, primitive, 480
Pohjola, 177
Poland, 25
Pointing sticks, 206
Polyandry, (131)

Polydorus, 115
Polygamy, 9, (138)
Polyidus, (82)
Polynesians, 37, 39, 66, 116, 125, 183, (194), 290, 338, 443
Polyphemus, 10, 279, 476
Pondoland, 223
Poseidon, 126
Potions, magic, 222
Prehistoric graves, 204, 472
  life, 399
Pressina, 329
Prester John, 374
Priestesses, 303
Priests, 86, 207, (303), 323, 348
Primogeniture, 372, 377
Prince Csihan, 225
  Hatt, 326, 422 (424)
  Mirko, 202
  Vildering, 419
  Wolf, 327
Princess as sacrificial victim, 400 *seq.*
Prior, 162
Procne, 288
Promiscuity, 376
Proteus, 166
Proverbs, 473
Psychic life of man, sameness of, 456, 460, 463, 470-1
Psychical Research Society, 208
Psychology, 118, (128), 149, 180
  of saints, 224
Pterelaus, 126
Pulowech the Partridge, 344
Punchkin, 109, 138
Puppets, magic, 197, 199, 200, 209
Puruvaras, 336
Pygmalion, 198

QAT, 51, 438
Quetzalcoatl, 443

RA, 407
Rabbit, Master, 169, 387
Raiko, 290
Rain, producing, 219 *seq.*
Raja Siung, 297
Rakshasa, 74, 138, 205
Rakshasi, 67, 94, (138), 148, (162), 291, (297), 301
Ralston, W. R. S., 435
Rama, 131, 141
Ramayana, 83, 221
Rashin Coatie, 109
Rata, 236
Raven, (78)
Reade, W., 123, 209, 318
Red Bull o' Norroway, 328
Red Etin, 206
Red Indians, 29, 32, 37, 39, 66, 83, 86, 88, 100-2, 107, 116, 128, 161, 181-3, 186, 196, 198, 204, 207, 209, 247, 249, 274, 337-8, 426, 470-1
Red Indian tales derived from Norse, 461, 468
Reinach, S., (125)
Reincarnation, 111, 115-6, (128), 234, 363, (381)
Relics, 198
Reptiles and water, 406
  sacrifice to, 403
Rider of Grianaig, 54
Ring, magic, 201
  speaking, 195, 214, 280
Rink, H., 6, 468
Ripley, W., 104
Ritual, Australian, 88; Babylonian, 78; Dyak, 88; Egyptian, 98; Greek, 98; Jewish, (189); Red Indian, 88
Rocks, clashing, 59
Roland, 203
Rolf, 179
Romans, 37, 76, (97), 147, 161, 198, 250, 319, 348
Romilly, H. H., (106), 345, 455
Romulus, (277)
Rongo, 194
Rooney and the Seal, 163
Rose of Bakawali, 62, 157
Roumania, 25, 38
Rupe, 162
Russian folk-lore, 125, 146, 258, 267, 294, 373
Rhythmic chants, 480

SABAZIOS, 266
Sabbat, witch, 197, 222-3, 319
Sacred books—Babylonian, 10; Egyptian, (128); Greek, 166; Hindu, 166, 336, 413; Japanese, 11, 84, 166, 172, 204, 243, 326, 333, 386; Norse, (101)
  things, 316
Sacrifice, 10, 348
  by fairy or witch, 428-9
  foundation, 427
  human, 303, 399 *seq.*, 403, 424 *seq.*

Sacrifice, mock, 429
of children, 410, 423, 425
of twins, 414
of virginity, (410)
propitiatory, 423
rationale of, 397
removal of barrenness by, 413
to reptiles, 403
to water divinities, 405, 423
Sagas, Algonquin, 481 ; Arthurian, 10 ; Ossianic, 10
and *Märchen*, 451
Saints, 84, 95, 97, 215, 224
legends of, 95-7, 187, 224, 319, 381, 388, 392
Saliva, 193
Samoans, 101, 115, 179, 196, 426
Samoyedes, 123
Samson, 127, 145
Sanchoniathon, 401
Santals, 115
Savage Island, 100, 300
Savage folk-tale parallels, 457-8
Savages and X region, 208
Saxons, 101
Scales, magic, 212
Scandinavian folk-lore, 28, 65, 102-3, 157, 200, 222, 393, 401, 426, 443
Scheme of the work, 51
Scott, Sir W., 44
Scythians, 204
Sea divinity, 423
maiden, 126, 135, 417, 423
Secret societies, 317-8
Semites, 249, 401, 425
Senart, 247
Sending, magic, (155), 200
Senkepeng, 264
Serpent. *See* Snake
Servians, (103), 337
Set, 90
Sex, change of, (157)
Shah Mannsur, 140
Shakespeare, 29
Shoes of swiftness, 221
Siam, 198
Siati and Puapœ, 173
Siberians, 210
Siegfried, 204
Sight restored, 67
Si Jura, 436
Sikulume, 120, 172, 213, 283
Silvia, 120
Sina, 147
Sinbad, 281
Sinend, 317
Singhpos, 374
Singorra, 194, 197
Siva, 202
Six Swans, The, (153)
Skin, 145, 156, 163, 182, 276, (328), 347-8
Slavs, 104
Sleep, 101
magic, 30 *seq.*, (194)
thorn, 85
Sleeping beauties, 85
Slipper, magic, 212, (369)
Snake, 116, 212, 258
descent from, 266, 275
genius as, 250
lovers, 256 *seq.*, 264
race under water, (258)
sacrifice to, 403
wisdom of, 41
see Dragon
Snee witchen, (358)
Snow-White Rose-Red, 193
Snuff-box, magic, 202
Solomon, 66
Islands, 116, 337
Solidarity, human and animal, 181
Soma, 65
Sorcerer. *See* Medicine-man
Soul, bush, 250
eaten by witches, 146
in bone, spine, etc., (93), 111
leaving body, 143, 146
placed in safety, 143
separable, 118 *seq.*, 250
several kinds of, in one body, 147
sorcerer and, 133, 146
see Spirit
Southey, (103)
Spine, seat of life, (93), 111
Spirit, controlling, 201
evil, 339, 429
leaving body, 146, 181
of well, (318)
recalling, 207
underground, 207
see Ancestor ; Reincarnation ; Soul
Statue, living, 198
Stoll, Dr, 33
Stone age, 339
shirt, 23, 458
weapons, 456

Storm myths, 222
Story germs, 79, 452, 457
Straparola, 14
Strigla, 294
Struwelpeter, 336
Subconscious self, 208, *210*
Suhman, 199
Sultan Darai, 226
Sumatra, 86
Sun-god, (410)
  impregnation by, (410)
  myths, 222
Sunshine, producing, 219
Svastika, 474
Swahilis, 41
Swan-maidens, 162, 343 *seq.*
Swiftness, miraculous, 222
Sword of chastity, 55
  magic, 202
Symbols, diffusion of, 474

TABLE, magic, 214, 219
Tabu, 6, 12, 26, 46, 76, (112), 124, (171), 261, 306 *seq.*, 325 *seq.*
Tahitians, 196
Tajul-Muluk, 157, 205, 212
Takinga, 285
Talamaur, (456)
Taliesin, 165
Talisman, 121, 155, 201, 231, 239
Tamaniu, 124
Tammuz, 78
Tane, 66, 70
Tangaroa, 80, 93
Taoism, 86, 207
Tartaro, 279, 301, 374
Tasmanians, 101, 124, (277)
Taunton Dene Manor, 373
Tawhaki, 347, 438
Tchuds, 374
Telepathy, (168), 208
Telikinesis, 208
Temples, tabued, 316-7
Tennyson, 401
Tent, magic, (220)
Tereus, 288
Tethra, sword of, 204
Teutons, 28, 184
Theal, G. M., 455
Thesmophoria, 319
Thor, (101), (143), 408
Thyestes, 288
Tiamat, 408
Tibetans, 29
Tidying up hut incident, (261), (331)
Timbuctoo, 335
Tipperahs, 335
Tirawa, 245
Tir na n'Og, 315
Titans, 90
Todas, 337
Tona, 250
Tongans, 196
Torres Straits, 100
Totemism, 88, 144, 146, 181, 183, 249, 272-4, 339-40
  survivals of, 249
Totem, ceremonies, 348, 398
  clan, 146, 249, 274
  divinities, 348
  myths, 274
  personal, 146, 248
  posts, 470
  rock drawings, 316
  sacrament, 42, 299
"Towers of silence," 101
Transformation, 453, 455
  as punishment, 150, 154
  by bathing, 157
  by drinking, 159, 186
  by eating, 158, 186
  by sorcerer, 149 *seq.*, 186, 273, 327
  by talisman, 155
  cause of belief in, 181 *seq.*
  combat, 164
  of divinities and spirits, 160, 181
  of fugitives, 167, 180
  of objects, 171, 180
  of sex, (157)
  self, 160
  to stone, (156)
  through magic, 162
Transmigration, 115-6, 251, 453
Transylvania, 20, 318, 374
Tree as life token, 124
  birth, 124 *seq.*
  bleeding, 115
  burial, 101, (358)
  growing from body, (115), 232
  healing by, (125)
  marriage, 276
  of life, 83
  spirits in, 115, (253), (344)
  world, 443
  worship, (128), 191, 193
Troll, 294
Tschin-tâmani, 201

Tuisa, 32
Turanians, 301
Turks, 66
Turo, 174
Twelve Brothers, The, 153
Two Brothers, The, 476
Tylor, Dr, 50, (66), 188, 396, 471
Typho, 90
Twins, folk-lore of, (393), 414

UGANDA, 11
Ui and Luamae, 402
Ulysses, 203
Underworld, 9, (44), 71, 78, 160, 172, 177-8, 204, 207, 239, 290, 326, 422
  descent to, 438
Unnatural lusts, 277
Urvasi, 336
Uvengwa, 105
Uzzah, 316

VÄINÄMÖINEN, 440, 443
Vampires, (25), 102-3, 130, (195)
Vasilissa the Fair, 197
Vedas, 11, 336, 476
Vergil, 96
Vijara Nada, 66
Vikramaditya, 166
Viravara, 422
Virgin Mary, 319, 430
Voguls, 317
Volsunga Saga, 41
Voodoo, 103
Votiaks, 318

WALPURGIS, 428
Wands, magic, 85, 205, 232
Water divinities, 76, (78), 258, 405, 423
  folk-lore of, 75, 405 *seq.*
  guardianship of, 404, 407
  king, 420
  living, 75
  monsters, 406
  of Death, 73
  of Life, 52 *seq.*, 241
    and raven, (78), 241
    and dragon, 408
Strength, 71
85-6
31-2, 258, 330, 332, (397), 418, 420
Weapons, magic, 203 *seq.*
Weendijoes, 301
Weeoomben, 182
Well-Intentioned and Double-Minded, The, 69
Well at World's End, 256
  of the World, 54
  sacred, 76, 317, (317), (344)
Werwolf, 144, 161, 185, (259), 455
Wer-tiger, 176
Wife tabu, 26
  lost, recovered, 438
Wise woman, 19, 185, 323
Witch, 19, 86, 145-6, 149 *seq.*, 153, 161, 179, 184-5, (195), 197, 200, (207), 208, 222-4, (259), 287, 294, 299, 303, 323, 343, 412, 421, 428, 452
Witchcraft, African, 5, 10, 146-7, (195), (223)
  in folk-tales, 19, 185
Wizard. *See* Medicine-man
Wollunqua totem ceremonies, 398
Women abducted by animals, 277
  and serpent, 46. *See* Snake
  and tabu, 316
  and wells, 317
  in primitive civilisation, 18, 170, 303
  suckling animals, (277)
World of Blessed, 10

X region, 32, 37, 85, 208-9, 224

YAK, 292
Yakuts, 148
Youngest son, 350
  as villain, 380
Yucatan, 39

ZAPOTECS, 250
Zeus, 49, (90), 226
Zulus, 21, 32, 116, 147, (200), 207, 209, 251, 301

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